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THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden,
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven.

SHAKSPEARE.



T Carlisle 1829

365

The Life

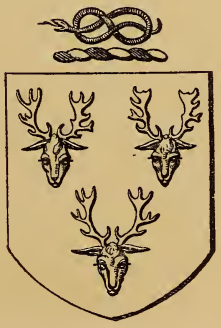
OF

Cardinal Wolsey.

BY

GEORGE CAVENDISH,

HIS GENTLEMAN USHER.



A New Edition.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS.

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PREFACE.

GEORGE CAVENDISH, the Author of this Life of Wolsey, was fifth in descent from Sir John Cavendish, lord chief justice of the King's Bench in the latter part of the reign of Edward III., who had acquired the manor of Cavendish Overhall, in Suffolk, by his marriage with Alice, daughter and heir of John de Odyngseles. The chief justice was beheaded by the rebels, in an insurrection in 1382. His descendant, George Cavendish, who inherited the manor of Cavendish Overhall, appears not to have increased his fortune whilst in the service of Cardinal Wolsey. He left two sons[1]; of whom the elder, William, described as "of London, mercer," sold the manor of Cavendish Overhall to William Downes, Esq., in 1569: the younger son, Ralph, had a son, William, who was baptized at Cavendish, in 1612.

But although the elder branch of the family of Cavendish

[1] Mr. Hunter has shewn that he married Margery Kemp, daughter of William Kemp, by Mary Colt, a sister of Sir Thomas More's first wife.

became thus obscured, if not altogether extinct, a younger branch of the same house rose rapidly to wealth, to rank, and to power. George Cavendish's younger brother, Sir William Cavendish[2], married, for his third wife, Elizabeth of Hardwick, widow of Alexander Barley of Barley. By this lady, who married thirdly Sir William St. Loe, and afterwards George, earl of Shrewsbury, Sir William Cavendish had a numerous family, whose descendants have filled, and still fill the highest rank in our nobility. One of Sir William Cavendish's daughters, Elizabeth, married Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, brother of the unfortunate Darnley. The issue of that marriage was Lady Arabella Stuart, who was thus at once first cousin to James I. and granddaughter to Sir William Cavendish. Her influence procured the honour of the peerage for her uncle, William Cavendish (second son to Sir William Cavendish), created Lord Cavendish in 1605, and Earl of Devonshire in 1618. Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck (third son of Sir William Cavendish), was the father of the loyal Duke of Newcastle. Sir William's eldest son, Sir Henry Cavendish, left a natural son, from whom descend the Lords Waterpark of Ireland. Sir William Cavendish's other daughters, by Elizabeth of Hardwick, were Frances, wife of Sir Henry Pierrepont, ancestor of the Dukes of Kingston, and Mary, wife of Gilbert, earl of Shrewsbury.

[2] To whom this Life of Wolsey has been often erroneously given.

In the following "Advertisement," the late Dr. Wordsworth has accurately and succinctly enumerated the various editions of George Cavendish's work. The "Ecclesiastical Biography," in which the Life of Wolsey, with the "Advertisement," was contained, appeared in 1810, and to Dr. Wordsworth, therefore, is unquestionably due the merit of first giving the work to the public in a correct form. A second edition was published in 1818. In 1825, Mr. S. W. Singer published an edition of the Life of Wolsey, containing most of Dr. Wordsworth's notes, and some of his own. In 1839, Dr. Wordsworth published a third edition of the "Ecclesiastical Biography," and from a fourth edition of the same work the Life of Wolsey is now reprinted in a separate form. For the numerous additional notes to the third and fourth editions the present Editor is responsible.

JOHN HOLMES.

British Museum,
30th January, 1852.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following life was written by the cardinal's gentleman usher, Cavendish; whose Christian name in the superscription to some of the manuscript copies is *George*, but by bishop Kennet, in his Memoirs of the family of Cavendish; by Collins, in his Peerage; and by Dr. Birch (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue, Brit. Museum) he is called *William*[1]. The work was known only by manuscripts, and by the large extracts from it, inserted by John Stowe in his *Annals*, from the reign of Q. Mary in which it was composed, until the year 1641; at which time a book was printed in a thin quarto, intitled, "*The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, the great Cardinal, containing his Life and Death*," &c. But surely no publication was ever more unfaithful to the manuscript, from which it professed to be taken; the editor, whosoever he was, being every way unqualified for his undertaking. The lan-

[1] *Called William.*] In a tract, published in the year 1814, entitled "Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?" and written by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., author of the "History of Hallamshire," &c. &c., it is shown, very satisfactorily, that George, elder brother of William, was the author.

guage he has thought fit to alter, almost in every sentence, without the guidance of any principle, but the gratification of his own tasteless caprice. Omissions he has made of many of the most interesting and valuable portions of the volume, amounting in extent to at least one third part of the whole; and through ignorance, and inability even to read the manuscript which was before him, he has left a multitude of passages in the text utterly absurd and unintelligible. Yet the piece, even with all these disadvantages, has been so much a favourite with the public, that it has been reprinted twice, in the years 1667 and 1706 (besides being inserted in the Harleian Miscellany, and in the Selection from that work), and is still a book of not very frequent occurrence.

The Lambeth Library supplying two manuscript copies of this life, the editor obtained permission from his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, to make use of them for the present collection. The first of these (No. 179) is very fairly and accurately written, and appears from a subscription at the end, bearing date A.D. 1598, to have belonged to John Stowe, the antiquarian; and afterwards to Sir Peter Manwood: both whose names are autographs. In the title of this copy, the work is ascribed to *George* Cavendish. The other MS. (No. 250) is also a correct and valuable one, but wants a few leaves.

Stowe's manuscript was made the groundwork of the present edition. That being first transcribed, the copy was collated with

the MS. No. 250, the readings of which were adopted, where they seemed to be deserving of preference. In one or two places the editor availed himself of the readings given by Stowe in his Annals: and in a few others, he followed a MS. of this life, formerly belonging to Dr. Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York, now in the library of the dean and chapter of that cathedral; the use of which was very generously conceded to the editor, by that venerable body, through the intervention of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury. A deficiency in one passage was supplied by a MS. (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue) in the British Museum: for the discovery of which the editor begs to return his thanks to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Douce, librarians there: as he does to the latter gentleman for the very liberal offer of the free use of another valuable MS. of this same life, in his own possession [2].

[2] Now [1852] in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, to which Mr. Douce bequeathed the whole of his valuable books and MSS.

Lambeth,
November, 1809.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THE PROLOGUE.

Me-seems it were no wisdome to credit every light tale, blasted abroade by the blasphemous mouthe of rude commonalty. For we dayly heare how with their blasphemous trumpe, they spread abroad innumerable lies, without either shame or honesty, which *primâ facie* sheweth forthe a visage of truthe, as though it were a perfect verity and matter indeede, whereas there is nothing more untrue. And amongst the wise sorte so it is esteemed, with whom those bablings be of small force and effect.

For sooth I have reade the exclamations of divers worthy and notable authors, made against suche false rumours and fonde opinions of the fantasticall commonalty, whoe delighteth in nothing more than to heare strange things, and to see newe alterations of authorities; rejoicing sometimes in such newe fantasies, which afterwardes give them more occasion of repentance than of joyfulness. Thus may all men of wisdome and discretion understand the temerous[1] madness of the rude commonalty, and not give to them too hasty credit of every sodeine rumour, untill the truth be perfectly knowne by the reporte of some approved

[1] *Temerous.*] Rash; *temerarious.*

and credible person, that ought to have thereof true intelligence. I have hearde and also seene set forthe in diverse printed books some untrue imaginations, after the deathe of diverse persons which in their life were of great estimation, that were invented rather to bring their honest names into infamy and perpetuall slaunder of the common multitude, than otherwise.

The occasion therefore that maketh me to rehearse all these things is this; for as much as I intend, God willing, to write here some parte of the proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the archbishop, his ascending unto honour's estate [2], and sodeine

[2] *Ascending unto honour's estate.*] It may be well to give the several dates of Wolsey's career:—

1471.	Born.
1483?	Entered Oxford.
1486?	B. A.
148–?	Fellow of Magdalen.
1500. Oct. 10.	Parson of Lymington.
1505.	Chaplain to Henry VII.
1506.	Rector of Redgrave.
1507.	Envoy to Maximilian.
1508. Feb. 2.	Dean of Lincoln.
1509.	Almoner to Henry VIII.
1510.	Rector of Torrington.
——	Canon of Windsor, and Registrar of the order of the Garter.
1511.	Prebendary of York.
1512.	Dean of York.
	Abbot of St. Alban's, *in commendam.*
1513.	Bishop of Tournay (in 1518 he agreed to receive from Francis, as compensation for the loss of this, a pension of 12000 fr.).
1514. Feb. 6.	Bishop of Lincoln.
—— Aug. 5.	Archbishop of York.
1515.	Cardinal.
—— Dec. 1.	Lord Chancellor. (He took the oaths on the 24th.)
1516.	Legate *de latere.*
1518. Aug. 28.	Bishop of Bath, *in com.*
1521. July 29.—Dec. 1.	Ambassador to Charles V. [1523.

falling againe from the same; whereof some parte shall be of myne own knowledge, and some parte of credible persons information.

Forsothe this cardinall was my lorde and master, whome in his life I served, and so remained with him, after his fall, continually, duringe the time of all his trouble, untill he died, as well in the Southe as in the Northe parts, and noted all his demeanor and usage in all that time; as also in his wealthy triumphe and glorious estate. And since his death I have hearde diverse sondry surmises and imagined tales, made of his procedings and doings, which I myself have perfectly knowen to be most untrue: unto the which I would have sufficiently answered accordinge to truthe, but as me seemed then it was much better for mee to dissemble the matter, and to suffer the same to remaine still as lies, than to reply against *their* untruth, of whome I might, for my boldness, sooner have kindled a great flame of displeasure, than to quench one spark of their untrue reportes. Therefore I committed the truth of the matter to the knowledge of God, who knoweth the truth in all things. For, whatsoever any man hath conceived in him while he lived, or since his deathe, thus much I dare be bold to say, withoute displeasure to any person, or of affection, that in my judgement I never saw this realme in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority and rule, ne justice better ministered[3] with indifferency; as I could

1523. Apr. 30. Bishop of Durham, *in com.*
1527. July 3.—Sept. 30. Ambassador to Francis I.
1529. Apr. 6. Bishop of Winchester, *in com.*
—— Confessed to Præmunire.
1530. Nov. 29. Died at Leicester.

[3] *Better ministered.*] Hence Fuller says beautifully, and very aptly and sagaciously: "I hear no widows' sighs, nor see orphans' tears in our chro-

evidently prove, if I should not be accused of too much affection, or else that I set forth more than truth. I will therefore leave to speak any more thereof, and make here an end, and procede further to his originall beginning and ascending with fortunes favor to high honours, dignities, promotions, and riches.

Truthe it is that this cardinall Wolsey was an honest poore man's sonne [4], of Ipswiche in the county of Suffolk, and there borne; and being but a child, was very apt to be learned; wherefore by the means of his parents, or of his good friends, and masters, he was conveied to the university of Oxonford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he told me by his owne mouthe, he was made Bacheller of Arts, when he past not fifteen yeares of age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly, through the university, the Boy Bacheller.

Thus prosperinge and increasinge in learning, he was made fellow of Magdalen College, and after elected and appointed to be schoole master of Magdalen schoole; at which time the lord Marquiss Dorset [5] had three of his sons there to schoole, com-

nicles, caused by him. Sure in such cases wherein his private ends made him not a party, he was an excellent justicer: as being too proud to be bribed, and too strong to be overborn." Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, p. 242.

[4] *Poore man's sonne.*] He was born in the year 1471. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 2. edit. 2. A.D. 1726.

[5] *Marquiss Dorset.*] Sir Thomas Grey, eldest son of the Queen of Edward IV., was created Earl of Huntingdon by his royal stepfather in 1471, and Marquess of Dorset in 1475. He had seven sons, of whom the first two, Edward and Anthony, died young, Thomas (afterwards second Marquess of Dorset, grandfather of Lady Jane Grey), John, Richard, Leonard (afterwards

mitting as well unto him their education, as their instruction and learning. It pleased the said Lord Marquiss against a Christmas season, to send as well for the school master as for the children, home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honorable feast. They being then there, my lord their father perceived them to be right well emploied in learning, for their time: which contented him so well, that he having a benefice[6] in his gift, being at that present voide, gave the same to the school master, in reward of his diligence, at his departing after Christmas to the university. And having the presentation thereof he repaired to the ordinary for his institution, and induction; and being furnished there of all his ordinary instruments at the ordinarys handes, for his preferment, he made speed without any farther delay to the said benefice to take thereof possession. And being there for that intent, one Sir Amyas Pawlet, knight, dwelling in the country thereaboute[7], tooke occasion of displeasure against him, upon what ground I knowe not: but, Sir by your leave, he was so bolde to set the schoole master by the feet duringe his pleasure; which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven. For when the schoole master mounted the dignity to be chancellor of England, he was not oblivious of his old displeasure cruelly ministered upon him by Mr. Pawlet[8], but

Viscount Garney of Ireland and Lord Deputy of that kingdom: beheaded in 1541), and George.

[6] *Having a benefice.*] The place was Lymington, now Limington, near Ilchester in Somersetshire, and in the diocese of Bath and Wells. He was instituted October 10, A.D. 1500. Fiddes's Life, p. 5.

[7] *Country thereaboute.*] At Hinton St. George, still the seat of Sir A. Pawlett's lineal descendant Earl Poulett.

[8] *Mr. Pawlet.*] Meaning "Sir Amyas Pawlet, knight," just before mentioned. It was not at that time an invariable custom to speak of knights

sent for him, and after many sharpe and heinous wordes, enjoyned him to attend untill he were dismissed, and not to departe out of London, withoute lycence obtained: soe that he continued there within the Middle Temple, the space of five or six yeares; whoe laye then in the gate house next the streete, which he reedified very sumptuously, garnishing the same, all over the outside, with the cardinall's arms, with his hat, with the cognisaunce and badges, and other devises, in so glorious a sorte, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

Nowe may this be a good example and precedent to men in authority, which will sometimes worke their will without witt, to remember in their authority, howe authority may decay; and those whome they doe punishe of will more than of justice, may after be advaunced to high honors, and dignities, in the common weale, and they based as lowe, who will then seeke the meanes to be revenged of such wronges which they suffered before. Who would have thought then when sir Amyas Pawlett punished this poore scholler the schoole master, that ever he should have mounted to so highe dignity as to be chauncellor of England, considering his baseness in every degree? These be wonderful and secret workes of God, and chaunces of fortune. Therefore I would wishe all men in authority and dignity to knowe and feare God in all their triumphs and glory; considering in all their

with the prefix *Sir*. Thus Cavendish, who at one time speaks of "Sir William Fitzwilliams, a knight," and "Sir Walter Walche, knight," afterwards speaks of them as *Master* Fitzwilliams, *Master* Walche. He mentions "that worshipful knight Master Kingston" and *Master* Shelley, *Mr.* Empson, *Mr.* Norris, *Mr.* Fitzwilliams, meaning Sir William Shelley, Sir Richard Empson, Sir Henry Norris, and Sir William Fitzwilliams. It must be remembered also that *Sir* was very often applied to ecclesiastics.

doings, that authority be not permanent, but may slide and vanish, as princes pleasures alter and change [9].

Then as all living things must of very necessity paye the dewe debt of nature, which no earthly creature can resist, it chaunced my said lord marquiss to depart out of this present life [1]. After whose death this schole master, then considering with himself to be but a simple beneficed man, and to have loste his fellowship in the college (for, as I understand, if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a benefice he shall by the rules of the same be dismissed of his fellowship), and perceiving himself also to be destitute of his singular good lord, and also of his fellowship, which was much of his reliefe, thought not to be long unprovided of some other helpe, or mastershippe, to defend him from all such stormes as he lightly was vexed with.

In this his travaill thereabout, he fell in acquaintance with one sir John Nanphant [2], a very grave and auncient knight, who had a great rome in Calais under king Henry the seventh. This knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, and wittily, that he obtained the especial favor of his said master; insomuch that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chapleine. And, as I understand, the office was the

[9] *Alter and change.*] It may be worth remarking here, that Sir A. Paulet's nephew, William Paulet, rose to be Lord High Treasurer of England and Marquis of Winchester, and, by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, in 1572, he became, for a time, *premier peer of England.* Sir Amyas Paulet's own lineal descendant is the present Earl Poulett.

[1] *This present life.*] In 1501.

[2] *Sir John Nanphant.*] Probably a mistake for Sir *Richard* Nanfan of Birtsmorton, in Worcestershire, who on the 21 Sept. 1485, was made hereditary sheriff of Worcestershire, which office, however, he held only two years, returning to the wars. He was captain of Calais and esquire of the body to Henry VII. The family became extinct in 1704.

treasureship of Calais, who was in consideration of his great age, discharged of his chargeable roome, and returned again into England, intending to live more at quiet. And through his instant labor and good favor his chapleine was promoted to be the king's chapleine.—And when he had once cast anker in the porte of promotion [3], howe he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

He, having then a just occasion to be in the sight of the kinge dayly, by reason he attended upon him, and saide masse before his grace in his closet, that done he spent not the rest of the day forthe in idleness, but would attend upon those whome he thought to beare most rule in the counsaille, and to be most in favor with the kinge; the which at that time were doctor Fox [4], bishop of

[3] *The porte of promotion.*] We may presume that it was to such a son of fortune as the Cardinal, that the lively description in the following narrative was designed to be applied:

"It is a common saying among us your Highnesses poore commones, that one of your Highnesses chappellanes, not many yeres sinse, used when he lusted to ryde abrode for his repaste, to carye with him a scrowle wherin were written the names of the paryshes whereof he was parson. As it fortuned, in hys jorney he espied a churche standyng pleasantlye upon an hyll, pleasantlye beset with greenes and plaine fieldes, the faire greene medowse lyinge bynethe by the banckes of a christalline ryver, garnished wyth wyllowse, poplers, palme trees and alders, moste beautifull to beholde. Thys vigilant pastore, taken wyth the syght of this terrestrial paradise, sayde unto a servaunt of hys (the clercke of hys sygnet no doubt it was, for he used to beare hys masters ryng in his mouthe), John, sayde he, yonder benifice standeth verie pleasantlye, *I* woulde it were myne. The servant answered, Why, syr, quod he, it is youre owne benifice, and named the paryshe. Is it so, quod your chapellane: and wyth that he pulled oute hys scrowle to see for certantye, whether it were so, or not.—See, most dread soveraigne, what care they take for the flocke: when they see theyr paryshe churches they knowe them not by the situation." *A Supplication of the poor Commons,* signat. b. 5. addressed to king Henry VIII. 12mo. black letter, no date.

[4] *Doctor Fox.*] Richard Fox, translated from Durham in 1500.

Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, and also sir Thomas Lovell [5] knighte, a very sage counsellor, a witty man, being master of the wardes, and constable of the Tower.

These auncient and grave counsellers in process of time perceiving this chapleine to have a very fine wit, and what was in his head, thought him a meëtt and apt person to be preferred to witty affaires.

It chaunced at a certain season [6] that the kinge had an urgent

[5] *Sir Thomas Lovell.*] Sir Thomas Lovell, fifth son of Sir Ralph Lovell of Barton Bendish in Norfolk, was treasurer of the household to Henry VII. by whom he was knighted at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and also made K.G., and executor of his will. Soon after Henry VIII.'s accession, Lovell was made master of the wards, and constable of the Tower. His influence and wealth were great. He inherited in right of his wife, the sister of Lord Roos, the manor of Worcester in Enfield, and he purchased East Herling in Norfolk from Sir Henry Bedingfield of Oxburgh. He died s. p. in 1524. As constable of the Tower he was succeeded by Sir William Kingston.

[6] *A certain season.*] In the autumn of 1507. The embassy, or rather message, from Richmond to Flanders and back again to Richmond occupied 80 *hours*. It related to the proposed double connexion between Henry VII. and Maximilian. In the beginning of 1506 Philip (*le Beau*) and his wife Juana (*la folle*) had been nearly wrecked on the English coast, and during their stay at the English court, Henry VII. proposed to marry Philip's sister, Margaret of Austria, whose second husband, Philibert, duke of Savoy, had died in Sept. 1504. The terms of a treaty were settled on the 20th of March, and further measures were proposed in May, when John Yonge, and Nicholas West (afterwards bishop of Durham) were commissioned to treat. Philip however died on the 10th of September. In the following year another marriage was proposed between Charles (afterwards Charles V.), Philip's son, and Mary, the daughter of Henry. On this joint business Wolsey was now sent by Henry to Maximilian, and his performance of it was so satisfactory, that in October he was sent again to Maximilian, with long instructions, the originals of which, signed by Henry, are still extant. His journey this time was not so rapid as the former; he wrote on the 22nd of October to Henry from Mechlin, and on the 7th of November Henry acknowledged his letter, and sent him, from Greenwich, further instructions.

occasion to send an ambassador unto the emperor Maximillian, who lay at that present in the lowe countrey of Flaunders, not far from Calaise. The bishop of Winchester and sir Thomas Lovell, whom the kinge most esteemed, as chiefe of his counseile, (the kinge one day counselling and debating with them upon this embassage,) sawe they had nowe a convenient occasion to prefer the kinge's chapleene, whose excellent witt, eloquence, and learning they highly comended to the kinge. The kinge giving eare unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgement and modesty, comanded them to bring his chapleine, whom they so much comended, before his grace's presence. And to prove the wit of his chapleine he fell in communication with him in great matters: and, perceiving his wit to be very fine, thought him sufficient to be put in trust with this embassage; commanding him thereupon to prepare himself to his journey, and for his depeche, to repaire to his grace and his counsell, of whom he should receive his commission and instructions. By means whereof he had then a due occasion to repaire from time to time into the kinge's presence, who perceived him more and more to be a very wise man, and of a good intendment. And having his depeche, he tooke his leave of the kinge at Richmond about none, and so came to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Gravesend was ready to launch forthe, both with a prosperous tide and winde. Without any further aboade he entered the barge, and so passed forthe. His happie speede was such that he arrived at Gravesend within little more than three hours; where he tarried no longer than his post horses were provided;

(Cott. MS. Galba B. II. ff. 128—31.) Wolsey's second embassy has hitherto escaped notice. On the 17th of December, Charles and Mary (by proxy) were solemnly betrothed at Calais.

and travelled so speedily with post horses, that he came to Dover the next morning, whereas the passengers[7] were ready under saile to saile to Calaise. Into the which passengers without tarrying he entered, and sailed forth with them, so that long before noone, he arrived at Calaise; and having post horses in a readiness departed from thence, without tarrying. And he made such hasty speede, that he was that night with the emperor. And he having understanding of the coming of the kinge of England's ambassador, would in no wise delay the time, but sent for him incontinent (for his affection to kinge Henry the seventh was such, that he was glad when he had any occasion to shewe him pleasure). The embassador disclosed the whole summe of his embassage unto the emperor, of whom he required spedy expedition, the which was graunted him, by the emperor; so that the next day he was clearly dispatched, with all the kinges requests fully accomplished and graunted. At which time he made no further delay or tariaunce, but tooke post horses that night, and rode incontinent towarde Calais againe, conducted thither with such persons as the emperor had appointed. And at the opening of the gates of Calaise, he came thither, where the passengers were as ready to retourne into Englande as they were before at his journey forewarde; insomuch that he arrived at Dover by tenne or eleven of the clocke before noone; and having post horses in a readiness, came to the court at Richmond that same night. Where he taking some rest untill the morning, repaired to the kinge at his first coming out of his bed chamber, to his closet to masse. Whom (when he saw) he checked him for that he was not on his journey. "Sir," quoth he, "if it may

[7] *Passengers.*] Passenger-boats.

please your highness, I have already been with the emperor, and depeched youre affaires, I trust with your grace's contentation." And with that he presented the kinge his letters of credence from the emperor. The kinge, being in great confuse and wonder of his hasty speede and retourne with such furniture of all his proceedings, dissimuled all his wonder and imagination in the matter, and demanded of him, whether he encountered not his pursevant, the which he sente unto him (supposing him not to be scantly out of London) with letters concerning a very necessary matter, neglected in their consultation, the which the king much desired to have dispatched among the other matters of ambassade. "Yes forsoothe," quoth he, "I met him yesterday by the way: and having no understanding by your graces letters of your pleasure, notwithstanding I have been so boulde, upon mine own discretion (perceiving that matter to be very necessary in that behalf) to dispatch the same. And for as much as I have exceeded your graces commission, I most humbly require your graces remission and pardon." The kinge rejoicing inwardly not a little, saide againe, "We do not only pardon you thereof, but also give you our owne princely thanks bothe for your proceedings therein, and also for your good and speedy exploit," commanding him for that time to take his rest, and to repaire againe to him after dinner, for the farther relation of his ambassage. The kinge then went to masse; and after at convenient time he went to dinner.

It is not to be doubted but that this ambassador hath in all this time bene with his great friends, the bishop and sir Thomas Lovell, to whome he hath declared the effect of all his speede; nor yet what joye they have received thereof. And after his departure from the kinge, his highness sent for the bishop of

Winchester, and for sir Thomas Lovell; to whom he declared the wonderful expedition of his ambassador, commending therewith his excellent witt, and in especiall the invention and avauncing of the matter lefte out in their consultation and the ambassador's commission. The kinges wordes rejoiced not a little these worthy counsaillors, for as much as he was of their preferment.

Then when this ambassador remembered the kings commandment, and sawe the time drawe fast on of his repaire before the kinge, and his counsaile, he prepared him in a readinesse, and resorted unto the place assigned by the kinge, to declare his ambassage. Without all doubt he reported the effect of all his affaires and proceedings so exactly, with such gravity and eloquence [8], that all the counsaile that heard him could doe no less but commend him, esteeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacity of man. The kinge of his mere motion, and gracious consideration, gave him at that time for his diligent service, the deanery of Lincolne [1], which was at that time one of the worthiest promotions, that he gave under the degree of a bishopricke. And thus from thenceforth he grewe more and more into estimation and authority, and after was promoted by the kinge to be his almoner. Here may all men note the chaunces of fortune, that followethe some whome she intendeth to promote, and to some her favour is cleane contrary, though they travaille never so much, with all the painfull diligence that they can devise or imagine: whereof, for my part, I have tasted of the experience [2].

[8] *Eloquence.*] See note at p. 19.

[1] *Deanery of Lincolne.*] He was collated Feb. 2. A.D. 1508. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 146.

[2] *Experience.*] Cavendish's rewards for his services appear to have been

Now you shall understande that all this tale that I have declared of the good expedition of the king's ambassadour, I had of the reporte of his owne mouthe, after his fall, lying at that time in the great parke at Richmonde[3], he being then my lord and master, and I his poore servant and gentleman usher, taking then an occasion upon diverse communications, to tell me this journey, with all the circumstances, as I have here before declared.

When deathe (that favoureth none estate, king ne keiser[4]) had taken the wise and sage kinge Henry the seventh out of this present life[5] (on whose soule Jesu have mercy!) who for his wisdome was called the second Solomon, it was wonder to see what practices and compasses was then used about young kinge Henry the eighth, and the great provision made for the funerales of the one, and the costly devices for the coronation of the other, with the new queene, queene Catherine, and mother afterwards of the queenes highness, that now is, (whose virtuous life and godly disposition Jesu long preserve, and continue against the malignity of her corrupt enemies;)—But I omit and leave all the circumstances of this solemn triumphe unto such as take upon them to

limited to the six cart horses, the cart, and the thirty pounds mentioned at the end of this life.

[3] *At Richmonde.*] Therefore between Feb. 2 and April 3, 1530.

[4] *King ne keiser.*] Perhaps Cavendish alludes to the lines in Longlande's Vision of Pierce Ploughman, written about 1350.

"Death came driving after and al to dust pashed
Kings and Kaisars, Knights and Popes."

Before Cavendish wrote there had been also numerous editions of the Dance of Macabre, in the *Horæ* of the Paris printers and elsewhere, and the celebrated designs of the Dance of Death attributed to Holbein had been engraved and printed at Lyons in 1538. Of all these there were numerous copies.

[5] *Present life.*] April 21, 1509.

write the stories of princes in chronicles, which is no parte of my intendment.

After the finishing of all these solemnizations and costly triumphes, our naturalle young and lusty courageous prince and sovereigne lorde kinge Henry the eighth entering into the flower of lusty youth[6], took upon him the regal scepter and the imperiall

[6] *Flower of lusty youth.*] The following character is from the pen of William Thomas, clerk of the Privy Council in the reign of king Edward the Sixth:

"To come unto a conclusion of oure kynge, whose wisdome, vertue, and bountye, my wittes suffiseth not to declare. One, of personage, he was one of the godlyest men that lyved in his tyme, verye highe of stature, in maner more then a man, and proporcioned in all his membres unto that height; of countenance he was most amiable; curteous and beninge in gesture unto all persons, and specyally unto straungers; seldome or never offended with any thinge, and of so constaunt a nature in hymselfe, that I beleve there be few can say that ever he chaunged his chere for any noveltie, how contrary or sodayne so ever it were. Prudent he was in counsell, and farre castyng; most liberall in rewardyng his faithfull servauntes, and ever unto his ennemies as it behoveth a prince to be. He was learned in all sciences, and had the gyft of many tongues. He was a perfect theologien, a good philosopher, and a stronge man of arms, a jueller, a perfect buylder, as well of fortresses as of pleasaunt palacyes, and from one to another, there was no kynde of necessary knowledge, from a kynges degre to a carters, butt that he had an honest sight in it.—What wold you I should say of hym? He was undoubtedly the rarest man that lyved in his tyme. Butt I say not this to make hym a god; nor in all his doynges I wyll not saye he hath bene a saynte; for I beleve with the prophet, that *non est justus quisquam, non est requirens Deum; omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sumus, non est qui facit bonum, non est usque ad unum.* I wyll confesse that he dyd many evil thinges, as the publican synner, butt not as a cruel tyraunt, or as a pharisaicall hypocrite; for all his doynges were open unto the whole world, wherein he governed hymselfe with so much reason, prudence, courage and circumspection, that I wote not where, in all the histories I have red, to fynde one private kynge equall unto hym, who in the space of 38 yeres reigne, never receyved notable displeasure. However that at one selfe tyme, he hath had open warre on three sydes, not onely hath he lyved most happely, butt also hath quietly died in the armes of

diadem of this fertile and fruitful realme, which at that time flourished in all aboundance and riches (whereof the king was inestimably furnished), called then the golden world, such grace reigned then within this realme. Now the almoner (of whome I have taken upon me to write) having a head full of subtile wit, perceiving a plaine pathe to walk in towards his journey to promotion, handled himself so politickly, that he found the meanes to be made one of the kings counsaille, and to growe in favour and good estimation with the kinge, to whome the kinge gave an house at Bridewell in Fleet-street, sometime sir Richard Empson's [7], where he kept house for his family, and so daily attended upon the kinge, and in his especiall favour, having great sute made unto him, as counsaillors in favour most commonly have. His sentences and witty persuasions amongst the counsaillors in the counsaile chamber, were alwaies so pithy, that they, as occasion moved them, continually assigned him for his filed tongue and excellent eloquence to be the expositor unto the kinge in all their proceedings. In whome the kinge conceived such a loving fansy, and in especiall for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the counsaile to

his dearest frendes, leavyng for wytnesse of his most glorious fame, the fruite of such an heyre, as the erth is scarcely worthy to nourish, who I trust shall with no lesse perfection perfaurme the true church of Christ, not permitted by his sayde father to be finished, then as Solomon dyd the Temple of Hierusalem, not graunted to David in the tyme of hys life. For, who wolde speke agaynst the deade? Kynge Henry myght much better say, he dyd se butt with one eye, and so accuse hym for lack of puttyng an end unto the reformacion of the wycked church, then for doyng of the thinges that he hath done agaynst the apostolicall romayne sea." pp. 122—5. ed. 1774.

[7] *Sir Richard Empson's.*] Who had been attainted with Dudley, and by whose attainder, soon after Henry's accession, it had been forfeited to the crown.

avaunce the king's only will[8] and pleasure, having no respect to the cause; the king therefore, perceiving him to be a mete instrument for the accomplishing of his devised pleasures, called him more neare unto him, and esteemed him so highly, that the estimation and favour of him put all other auncient counsaillors out of high favour, that they before were in; insomuch that the king committed all his will unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that his endeavour was alwaies only to satisfy the kings pleasure, knowing right well, that it was the very vaine and right course to bring him to high promotion. The kinge was young and lusty, and disposed all to pleasure, and to followe his princely appetite and desire, nothing minding to travell in the affaires of this realme. Which the almoner perceiving very well, tooke upon him therefore to discharge the king of the burthen of so weighty and troublesome busines, putting the kinge in comforte that he should not neede to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should happen in the counsaile, as long as he, being there and having his graces authority, and by his commandment, doubted not so to see all things well and sufficiently perfected; making his grace privy first of all such matters before, or he would proceede to the accomplishing of the same, whose minde and pleasure he would have, and followe to the uttermost of his power; wherewith the kinge was wonderfully pleased. And whereas the other auncient counsaillors would, according to the office of good counsaillors, diverse times persuade the kinge to have some time a recourse unto the counsaile, there to heare what was done in weighty matters, the which

[8] *King's only will.*] The best comment on this passage are Wolsey's memorable last words, "But if I had served God," &c. See the end of this life.

pleased the kinge nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to doe any thing contrary to his pleasure; that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the kings naturall inclination, and so fast as the other counsaillors counselled the kinge to leave his pleasure, and to attend to his affaires, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him very much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him; such was his policy and witt, and so he brought things to pass, that who was now in high favour, but Mr. Almoner? who had all the sute but Mr. Almoner? and who ruled all under the king, but Mr. Almoner[9]? Thus he persevered still in favour, untill at the last, in came presents, gifts, and rewardes so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so favourably upon him. But to what end she brought him, ye shall heare hereafter. Therefore let no man to whome fortune extendeth her grace, trust overmuch to her subtell favour and pleasant promises, under colour wherof she carrieth venemous galle. For when she seeth her servaunt in most high authority, and that he most assureth himselfe of her favour, then sodaynelye turneth she her visage and pleasaunt countenaunce unto a frowning cheere, and utterly forsaketh him: such assuraunce is in her inconstant favour and promise. Her deceipt hath not bine hid among the wise sorte of famous clerks,

[9] *Mr. Almoner.*] Even queen Katharine could prefer a suit to Henry through his means: "I pray you, Mr. Almoner, excuse me to the king for the taryeng of it soo long, for I coude have it noe sooner." See several letters from her to Wolsey, during Henry's absence in France in July and August, 1513, printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, first ser. vol. i. p. 78—91.

that have exclaimed and written vehemently against her dissimulation and feined favour, warninge all men thereby, the lesse to regarde her, and to have her in small estimation of any trust of faithfullnesse.

This almoner, clyming thus hastily upon fortunes wheeles, and so far mounting, that no man was of that estimation with the kinge, as he was, for his wisdome and other witty qualities, had a speciall gifte of naturall eloquence[1], and a filed tongue to

[1] *Speciall gifte of naturall eloquence.*] Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, has drawn so lively and characteristic a picture, designed, no doubt, to represent the cardinal at the head of his own table, that, though the extract is long, the reader, I think, will not be displeased with its insertion. The title of the chapter is, *Of Flattery*.

"*Anthony*. I praye you, cosyn, tell on. *Vincent*. Whan I was fyrste in Almaine, uncle, it happed me to be somewhat favoured with a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of the greatest in all that country there. And in dede whosoever might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of Christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre above all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harme, and made him abuse many great gyftes that God hadde geven him. Never was he saciate of hearinge his owne prayse.

"So happed it one daye, that he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne matter, wherein he liked himselfe so well, that at his diner he sat, him thought, on thornes, tyll he might here how they that sat with hym at his borde, woulde commend it. And when hee had sitte musing a while, devysing, as I thought after, uppon some pretty proper waye to bring it in withal, at the laste, for lacke of a better, lest he should have letted the matter too long, he brought it even blontly forth, and asked us al that satte at his bordes end (for at his owne messe in the middes there sat but himself alone) howe well we lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth Uncle, whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full answered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse. For he that shoulde have brought oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion, woulde have thoughte himself shamed for ever. Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest unto the hyghest in good order, as it had

pronounce the same, that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his purpose. Proceding thus in fortunes

bene a great matter of the comon weale, in a right solemne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte, I wyll not saye it, Uncle, for no boaste, mee thoughte, by oure Ladye, for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel. And I lyked my selfe the better beecause mee thoughte my wordes beeinge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the almain tong wherein lettyng my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng, and I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he that sate next mee, and should saie his sentence after mee, was an unlearned Prieste, for he could speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendation, the wyly Fox, hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the crafte of flattry that he went beyonde me to farre.

"And that might I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one crafte, that in al his whole life studyeth and busyeth his witte about no mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe unto my selfe, that if ever he and I were matched together at that boarde agayne: whan we should fall to our flattrye, I would flatter in latin, that he should not contende with me no more. For though I could be contente to be out runne by an horse, yet would I no more abyde it to be out runne by an asse. But Uncle, here beganne nowe the game, he that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a greate beneficed man, and not a Doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the Churche. A worlde it was to see howe he marked every mannes worde that spake before him. And it semed that every worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumbrance that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne even swette with the laboure, so that he was faine in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit in conclusion whan it came to his course, we that had spoken before him, hadde so taken up al among us before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wyse worde to speake after.

"*Anthony.* Alas good manne! amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold have lente hym one. *Vincent.* It needed not as happe was Uncle. For he found out such a shift, that in his flatterynge he passed us all the mayny. *Anthony.* Why, what sayde he Cosyn? *Vincent.* By our Ladye Uncle not one worde. But lyke as I trow Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the paynter in the table that he paynted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorrowefull countenances of the other noble menne of Greece that beehelde it, spente out so much of his craft and hys

blisfulnes, it chaunced the warres between the realmes of England and Fraunce to be open, but upon what ground or occasion I knowe not, insomuch as the kinge, being fully persuaded, and earnestly resolved, in his most royall person to invade his forreine enemies with a puissant army, to attempt their haughty bragges, whether they durst shewe their faces before him in their owne territory: wherefore it was thought very necessary, that his royall enterprize should be spedily provided and furnished in every degree of things apte and convenient for the same; for the expedition whereof the king thought no man's wit so meete, for policy and painfull travaille, as was his almoner's, to whome therefore he committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thinge, that the kinge would commande him to doe, althoughe it seamed to other very diffycile, tooke upon him the whole charge of all the business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good passe in a decent order, as of all manner of victualls, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voiage and army.

cunnynge, that whan he came to make the countenance of King Agamemnon her father, whiche hee reserved for the laste, he could devise no maner of newe heavy chere and countenance—but to the intent that no man should see what maner countenance it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fane to paynte hym, holdyng his face in his handkercher. The like pageant in a maner plaide us there this good aunciente honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde pass al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake never a word, but as he that wer ravished unto heavenwarde with the wonder of the wisdom and eloquence that my Lordes Grace hadde uttered in that oracyon, he fetched a long syghe with an Oh! from the bottome of hys breste, and helde uppe both hys handes, and lyfte uppe his head, and caste up his eyen into the welken and wepte. *Anthony.* Forsooth Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye properlye. But was that great Prelates oracion, Cosyn, any thyng prayseworthye?" Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1221, 2.

All things being by him perfected, and brought to a good passe, the kinge, not intending to delay or neglect the time, but with most noble and valiant courage to avaunce to his royall enterprise, passed the seas[2] between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived; and after some aboade made there by his grace, as well for the arrival of his puissant army, provision and munition, as for the consultation of his voiage and other weighty affaires, he marched forward, in good order of battaile, untill he came to the strong towne of Turwin. To the which he laid his siege, and assaulted it very strongly continually, with such vehement assaults, that within short space it was yielded[3] unto his majesty. Unto which place the emperor Maximilian repaired unto the kinge, with a great army, like a mighty prince, taking of the kinge his grace's wages; which is a rare thing and but seldom seene, an emperor to fight under a king's banner. Thus when the kinge had obtained this puissant forte, and taken the possession thereof, and set all things there in due order, for the defence and preservation thereof to his highness's use, he departed thence, and marched toward the city of Tournay, and there laid his siege in like manner; to the which he gave so fierce and sharp assaults, that they were constrained of fine force[4] to render the town unto his victorious majesty. At which

[2] *Passed the seas.*] 30th June, 1513.

[3] *Yielded.*] Terouenne surrendered on the 22nd August.

[4] *Of fine force.*] "Now this contention is easily borne; for the one part, *of fine force, must* give place." Sir Thomas Smith in Strype's *Life of Sir T. S.* Appendix, p. 90, edit. 1698. "Heaven and happiness eternal is τὸ ζητούμενον that which is joined in issue, to which we are intituled, for which we plead, to which we have right; from whence by injury and treachery we have been ejected, and from whence *by fine force* we are kept out: for this we do *clamare*, by the Clergy, our Counsel, in the view of God and Angels." Montague's *Diatribe upon Selden's History of Tithes*, p. 130.

time the kinge gave to the almoner the bishopricke of the same see towards his pains and diligence sustained in that journey. And when the kinge had established (after possession taken there) all things agreeable to his princely will and pleasure, and furnished the same with noble captaines and men of warr, for the safeguarde of the towne, he returned[5] againe into England, taking with him diverse noble personnages of Fraunce, being prisonners, as the duke Longeuville[6], and viscount Clearemount, with other[7], which were taken there in a skirmish[8], like a most victorious prince and conqueror. After whose retourne imediatly, the see of Lincolne fell voide by the deathe of doctor Smith late bishop there, the which benefice his grace gave to his almoner[9], late bishop elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the speede he could for his consecration; the solemnization whereof ended, he found the means, that he gat the possession of all his predecessours goods, into his handes, whereof I have diverse times seen some parte that furnished his house. It was not long after that doctor Bambridge, archbishop of York, died at Rome[1], being there the

[5] *Returned.*] Henry arrived at Richmond, 24th October.

[6] *Longeuville.*] Louis d'Orléans, duke of Longueville, whose captivity was more useful to his country than his arms would have been if successful, for he procured peace by negociating the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, Henry's sister.

[7] *Clearemount, with other.*] Antoine, Vicomte de Clermont, who afterwards married Anne de Poitiers, the sister of the notorious Duchess of Valentinois. Among the "*other*" were Bayard, Bussy d'Amboise, La Fayette, &c.

[8] *Skirmish.*] This *skirmish* was the famous battle of Guinegaste, fought on the 6th of June; called the "Battle of Spurs" by the French themselves, in allusion to the rapid flight of their cavalry, who deserted their own officers.

[9] *Gave to his almoner.*] He was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 26, A.D. 1514. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 141.

[1] *Died at Rome.*] 14th July, 1514; poisoned, as it was believed, at the

king's ambassador, unto the which sea, the kinge immediately presented his late new bishop of Lincolne; so that he had three bishopricks[2] in his handes, in one yeare geven him[3].

Then prepared he again of newe as fast for his translation from the sea of Lincoln unto the sea of Yorke, as he did before to his stallation. After which solemnization done, and being then an archbishop and *Primas Angliæ*, he thought himself sufficient to

instigation of Sylvester de Giglis, bishop of Worcester. Three curious letters on the subject of cardinal Bambrigge's death, written by Richard Pace and William Burbank, the cardinal's secretaries, to Henry VIII., are printed in Sir Henry Ellis' *Original Letters*, first series, vol. i. p. 108—12.

[2] *So that he had three bishopricks.*] Dr. Robert Barnes preached a Sermon on the 24th of December 1525, at St. Edward's Church in Cambridge, from which Sermon certain Articles were drawn out, upon which he was soon after called to make answer before the Cardinal. Barnes has left behind him a description of this examination. The sixth of the Articles was as follows. "I wyll never beleeve that one man may be, by the lawe of God, a Byshop of two or three cities, yea of an whole countrey, for it is contrarye to St. Paule, which sayth, *I have left thee behynde, to set in every citye a Byshop.*"

"I was brought afore my Lorde Cardinall into his Galary," (continues Dr. Barnes) "and there hee reade all myne articles, tyll hee came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, that this touched hym, and therefore hee asked me, if I thought it wronge, that one byshop shoulde have so many cityes underneath hym; unto whom I answered, that I could no farther go, than to St. Paules texte, whych sat in every cytye a byshop. Then asked hee mee, if I thought it now unright (seeing the ordinaunce of the Church) that one byshop should have so many cities. I aunswered that I knew none ordinaunce of the Church, as concerning this thinge, but St. Paules saying onelye. Nevertheles I did see a contrarye custom and practise in the world, but I know not the originall thereof. Then sayde hee, that in the Apostles tyme, there were dyvers cities, some seven myle, some six myle long, and over them was there set but one byshop, and of their suburbs also; so likewise now, a byshop hath but one citye to his cathedrall churche, and the country about is as suburbs unto it. Me thought this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1573.

[3] *Geven him.*] But he resigned Lincoln in September the same year, when William Atwater was appointed to succeed him.

compare with Canterbury; and thereupon erected his crosse in the court, and every other place, as well within the precinct and jurisdiction of Canterbury, as in any other place. And forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth a superiority over Yorke, as of all other bishoprickes within England, and for that cause claimeth, as a knowledge of an auncient obedience, of Yorke to abate the avauncing of his crosse, in presence of the crosse of Canterbury; notwithstanding Yorke nothing minding to desist from bearing thereof, in manner as I said before, caused his crosse to be avaunced [4] and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury [5] being moved therewith, gave unto Yorke a certaine check for his presumption; by reason whereof there engendered some grudge betweene Yorke and Canterbury. Yorke perceiving the obedience that Canterbury claimed of him, intended to provide some such means that he would be rather superior in dignity to Canterbury, than to be either obedient or equal to him. Whereupon he obtained first to be made priest cardinall [6] and *Legatus de latere*, unto whom the pope sent a cardinall's hat with certaine bulles for his authority in that behalfe.

Yet by the way of communication you shall understande that

[4] *To be avaunced.*] This was not the first time in which this point of precedency had been contested. Edward III. in the sixth year of his reign, at a time when a similar debate was in agitation, having summoned a Parliament at York, the archbishop of Canterbury and all the other Prelates of his Province, declined giving their attendance, that the Metropolitan of all England might not be obliged to submit his Cross to that of York, in the Province of the latter. Fox, p. 387, 8.

[5] William Warham.

[6] *Priest cardinall.*] He was confirmed cardinal of S. Cecilia beyond the Tiber, by a bull of pope Leo X. dated Bologna, Dec. 13, 1515.—Fiddes's *Records*, p. 18.

the pope sent him this worthy hat of dignity as a jewell of his honor and authority, the which was conveied in a varlett's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation. Whereof Yorke being advertised of the baseness of this messenger[7], and of the people's opinion, thought it not meete for the honor of so highe a message, that this jewell should be conveied by so simple a person; wherefore he caused him to be stopped by the way, imediatly after his arrivall in England, where he was newely furnished in all manner of apparell, with all kinde of costly silkes, which seemed decent for such an high ambassador. And that done he was encountered upon Blackheathe, and there received with a great assembly of prelats and lusty gallant gentlemen, and from thence conducted and convaied through London, with great triumphe. Then was great and spedy provision[8] and preparation made in Westminster abby for the confirmation and acceptaunce of this highe order and dignity; the which was executed by all the bishopes and abbots about or nigh London, with their rich miters and copes and other ornaments; which was done in so solemn a wise, as I have not seene the like, unlesse it had bin at the coronation of a mighty prince and kinge.

[7] *Messenger.*] Who was of the rank of a prothonotary. See an account of the ceremonies observed at the reception of the hat, in Fiddes, App. p. 251.

[8] *Great and spedy provision.*] "Not farre unlike to this was the receaving of the cardinalls hatte. Which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloke, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him backe to Dover againe, and appoynted the bishop of Canterbury to meete him, and then another company of lordes and gentles I wotte not how oft, ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto: yea and to his empty seat he being away."—Tindal's *Works*, p. 374; Fox's *Acts*, p. 902.

Obtaining this dignity he thought himself meete to encounter with Canterbury in high jurisdiction before expressed; and that also he was as mete to beare authority among the temporall powers, as among the spirituall jurisdictions. Wherefore remembering as well the tauntes and checkes before sustained of Canterbury, the which he intended to redresse, as having a respect to the advancement of worldly honor, promotion and great benefit, he founde the meanes with the kinge, that he was made lord chancellor[9] of England; and Canterbury which was then chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that honorable rome, since long before the death of kinge Henry the seventh.

Now he being in possession of the chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of an archbishop, and cardinall *de latere*, thought himselfe fully furnished with such authorities and dignities, that he was able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions and ecclesiasticall powers, having power to convocate Canterbury, and all other bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble at his convocation, where he would assigne; and tooke upon him the correction of matters in all their jurisdictions, and visited all the spirituall houses, having also in every diocese through this realme all manner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courtes; and presented by prevention[1] whom he pleased unto all benefices

[9] *Lord chancellor.*] Takes the oath at Eltham, Dec. 24, 1515.—Fiddes, p. 98. A copy of the Letters Patent, dat. 1 Dec. 7 Hen. VIII. is in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 381. fol. 208.

[1] *Prevention.*] This refers to a power gradually usurped by the popes to a very great extent; whereby, before any ecclesiastical promotion became vacant the see of Rome *reserved* the future nomination to itself, *provided* a successor to the bishopric or benefice, and declared that if any presentation was made, it should be null and void. [In

throughout all this realme, and dominions thereof. And to the advancing further of his legantine jurisdiction and honors, he had masters of his faculties, masters *ceremoniarum*, and such other like persons, to the glorifying of his dignity. Then had he twoe great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was of his archbishoprick, and the other of his legacy, borne before him whither soever he went or rode, by two of the tallest priestes that he could get within this realme. And to the increase of his gaines he had also the bishopricke of Durham, and the abbey of St. Albans *in commendam;* and after, when bishop Fox, bishop of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the king's hands, and tooke to him Winchester. Then had he in his hands,

In one of these letters of the king and his parliament to Pope Clement VI. they thus solemnly expostulate against this grievous evil.

"We have thought meet to signifie unto your holiness, that divers reservations, provisions, and collations, by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you, most holy father, in your time have been granted (and that more largely than they have beene accustomed to be) unto divers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as unto some such as are our enemies; having no understanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they have the government and cure: whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the almes and devotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme unadvanced, the charge and government of soules not regarded, the devotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out, against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errors, defaults, and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer or endure." Fox's Acts, p. 353. Edit. 1610. This was in the year 1343. An act was passed in parliament the year following to annul these reservations; but the effect produced was slight. The dispute was several times revived. About the year 1376, they were, on agreement, relinquished formally by the pope: but even this seems not to have been effectual. Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 97.

as it were *in ferme*, the bishoprickes of Bathe, Worcester, and Hereforde, for as much as the incumbents of them were strangers [2], and made their aboade continually beyond the seas, in their own countries, or else in Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme, unto the kinge. And for their rewardes, at their departure, the wise kinge Henry the seventh thought it better to give them that thinge which he himself could not keepe, than to disbourse or defray any thing of his treasure. And they being but strangers, thought it then more meete for their assurance, and to have their jurisdiction preserved and maintained, to suffer the cardinall to have their benefices for a convenient sum of money paide them yearely, whereas they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearely burthened with the conveyaunce of their revenues unto them: so that all the spirituall promotions, and presentations of these bishopricks were wholy and fully in his domaine and disposion, to preferre whom he listed. He had also a great number daily attending upon him, bothe of noble-

[2] *Were strangers.*] See *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 191. The see of Bath was filled by Cardinal Adrian de Castello (who had been previously bishop of Hereford from 1502 to 1504), and that of Worcester by Sylvester de Giglis, appointed in 1499, in succession to his uncle John de Giglis; but the then bishop of Hereford was Richard Mayhew, or Mayo, an Englishman, who was succeeded, in 1516, by Charles Booth, also an Englishman. The see of Llandaff was occupied by a Spaniard, George Athequa, chaplain to Queen Katharine, whom he attended to this country. He, however, was not appointed until 1517, and by Henry VIII. The see of Worcester was filled by four Italians in succession, viz.:—

Giovanni de' Gigli, 30 Aug. 1497—25 Aug. 1498.

Silvestro de' Gigli, (nephew of the preceding) 17 Mar. 1499—16 April 1521.

Giulio de' Medici, cardinal, administrator, 31 July 1521 to 1522.

Ieronymo de' Ghinucci, (*Lat.* de Nugutiis) 20 Feb. 1523. He was deprived in 1534.

men and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen, that he could get in all the realme, insomuch that well was that nobleman and gentellman, that could preferr a talle yeoman into his service.

Nowe to speak of the order and officers of his house, I think it be necessary here to be remembered. And first you shall understande, that he had in his hall continually three bordes, kept with three severall principall officers; that is to say a stewarde which was alwaies a priest, a treasurer a knight, and a comptroller an esquire. Also a cofferer being a doctour; three marshalles, three yeomen ushers in the halle, besides twoe groomes and almoners. Then had he in the hall-kitchen two clarkes of the kitchen, a clerke comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerke of his spicery, the which together kept also a continual mess in the hall. Also in the hall-kitchen he had master cookes two, and of other cookes, labourers, and children of the kitchine twelve persons; four yeomen of the scullery, and four other yeomen of his silver scullery; two yeomen of his pastery, with two other pastellers under the yeomen.

Then had he in his privy kitchen a master cook who went daily in velvet or in sattin with a chaine of gould, with two other yeomen, and labourers six in the same roome; in the larder a yeoman and a groome; in the scalding house a yeoman and two groomes; in the saulcery two persons; in the buttery two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages; and in the ewery likewise: in the celler three yeomen and three pages; in his chaundery two; in the wafery two; in the wardrobe of bedds the master of the wardrobe, and ten persons; in the laundery a yeoman, a groome, thirteen pages; two yeomen purveiors, and one groome; in the bakehouse a yeoman and two groomes; in the woode-

yarde a yeoman and a groome; in the barne one; in the garden a yeoman and two groomes; porters at the gate two yeomen, and two groomes; a yeoman of his barge: and a master of his horse; a clerke of the stable, a yeoman of the same; the saddler, the farrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a muleteer, sixteen groomes of the stable, every one of them kept four geldings: in the almeserie, a yeoman and a groome.

Now will I declare unto you the officers of his chappel, and singing men in the same[3]. First he had there a deane, a great divine and a man of excellent learning; a sub-deane; a repetor of the quier, a gospeller, a pisteller; of singing priests ten; a master of the children. The seculars of the chappel, being singing men, twelve; singing children ten, with one servaunte to waite upon the children. In the revestry, a yeoman and two groomes: over and besides diverse retainers that came thither at principall feasts. And as for furniture of his chappel, it passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewells, that were to be occupied in the same continually. For I have seen in procession about the hall forty four of very rich copes, of one sute, worn, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same.

[3] *Singing men in the same.*] "My Lorde, yff itt were not for the personall love that the Kyngis Highnesse doith bere unto your Grace, suerly he wolde have owte off your chiapell, not chyldren oonly, but also men. For hys Grace hath playnley schewydde unto Cornysche, that your Graces chiapell is bettre than hys: and providde the same by thys reason, that yff ony manner of newe songe schulde be broght unto boith the said chiapellis for to be sunge *ex improviso,* then the sayde songe schulde be bettre and more suerly handlydde bi your chiapell than bi hys Graces. Cornyshe *istud plane verum nullo modo concoquere potest.*" Letter from Richard Pace to Wolsey, 25 March. III Ellis, ii. 49. W. Cornish was master of Henry VIII.'s chapel.

Nowe shall ye understande that he had two crosse bearers and two pillar bearers. In his great chamber, and in his privy chamber all these persons; first the cheefe chamberlaine, and vice-chamberlaine; of gentlemen ushers, besides one in his privy chamber, he had twelve daily waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and of lordes nine or tenne, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend upon them, except the earl of Darby [4], who had allowed five men. Then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, of carvers, of sewers bothe of the privy chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen daily waiters there forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of groomes in the chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had five and forty dayly; he had also of almes men some more in number than other some time, there attending upon his borde at dinner. Of doctors and chaplens, beside them of his chapple, which I rehearsed before, he had in number dayly attending sixteen: a clerke of his closet. Then had he secretaries two; two clerkes of his signet; and four counsaillors learned in the lawe.

Forasmuch as he was chauncellor of England, it was necessary to have diverse officers of the chauncery there to attend dayly upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say, first he had the clerke of the crowne, a riding clerke, a clerke of the hamper, a chafer of the waxe. Then had he a clerke of the checke, as well upon his chaplaines, as of his yeomen of his chamber; he had also fower foote men, which were garnished in

[4] *Earl of Darby.*] Thomas Stanley, second earl of Derby, who had been present at the sieges of Therouenne and Tournay, and at the battle of Spurs. He died on the 23rd of May, 1521, (only ten days after his attendance at the trial of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham,) and left Wolsey one of the supervisors over the executors to his will.

riche running coates, whensoever he rode in any journey. Then had he an herald of armes, and a sergeaunt of armes; a physition, a poticary; fower ministreles; a keeper of his tentes, an armourer; an instructor of his wardes, two yeomen in the wardrobe of his robes, and a keeper of his chamber continually in the courte. He had also dayly in his house the surveyor of Yorke, and a clerke of the greene cloathe. All these were dayly attending downe lying and up-rising. At meales he kept in his great chamber a continual borde for the chamberleenes, and gentlemen officers, having with them a mess of the young lordes [5], and

[5] *A mess of the young lordes.*] Among whom, as we shall see below, was the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland. This was according to a practice much more ancient than the time of Wolsey; agreeably to which young men of the most exalted rank resided in the families of distinguished ecclesiastics, under the denomination of pages, but, more probably, for the purposes of education, than of service. In this way Sir Thomas More was brought up under cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury; of whom he has given a very interesting character in his Utopia.—From Fiddes's *Appendix to the Life of Wolsey*, p. 19, it appears, that the custom was at least as old as the time of Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III, and that it continued for some time during the 17th century. In a paper, written by the earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, and entitled, *Instructions for you my son William* (afterwards lord Stafford) *how to behave yourself at Norwich*, the earl charges him, "You shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my lord bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents; esteeminge whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundell, your mother, or myself, should say it; and in all things esteem yourself as my lord's page; a breeding, which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed unto; as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bredd as pages with bishopps." See also Paul's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 97.

It is not out of place to mention, what we are told by Sir George Wheler, in his *Protestant Monastery*, p. 158, A.D. 1698. "I have heard say, in the times no longer ago than king Charles I., that many noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in the country were like academies, where the gentlemen and

another of gentlemen. And besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other worthy person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, servauntes, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons.—Nowe have I described the order according to the check roll of his house, and what officers and servauntes he had dayly attending to furnish the same, besides diverse retainers, and of other persons being suters, that most commonly dined in the hall. And when we shall see any more such subjects, that shall keepe the like noble house, I am content he be advanced above him in honour. But I feare, for my parte, never to see it; therefore here an end of his household. The number of the personages in his check roll were one hundred and eighty [6].

You have heard of the order and officers of his house; now I do intend to proceed further of his proceedings.

After that he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice [7] in an embassage unto the emperor Charles the fifth that now reigneth, and father unto king Philip now our soveraigne lord. Forasmuch as the old emperor Maximilian was deade, and for divers urgent causes [8] touching

women of lesser fortunes came for education with those of the family; among which number was the famous Sir Beaville Granville and his lady, father and mother of our present lord of Bath."

[6] *One hundred and eighty.*] The printed Life says eight hundred persons, which seems a more probable number. Mr. Singer's edition (1825), p. 39, says five hundred.

[7] *Twice.*] In 1521 and 1527.

[8] *Divers urgent causes.*] Nothing less than a mediation between Francis and the Emperor. Wolsey gave his decision in favor of the *Imperial* cause. He declared Francis to have been the aggressor in the late war, and that the king of England was bound to assist Charles. The negociations concluded in a league between Leo X., Charles V., and Henry VIII., against Francis I.

the king's majesty, it was thought that in so weighty affaires, and to so noble a prince, the cardinal was most meete to be sent on this embassage. Wherefore he being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, was furnished in all degrees and purposes most likest a great prince, which was much to the high honor of the kings majesty, and of this realme. For first he proceeded forthe furnished like a cardinall [9] of high estimation, having all things there according. His gentlemen, being very many in number, were cloathed in livery coates of crimson velvet of the best, with chaines of gould about their neckes; and his yeomen and all his meane officers were in coates of fine scarlet, garded with black velvet an hand broade. Thus furnished he was twice in this manner sent unto the emperor into Flanders, the emperor lying then in Bruges; whome he did most highely entertaine [1], dis-

The Pope was to act on the side of Italy, the Emperor on the side of Spain and the Low Countries at once, and the English monarch in Picardy. In the British Museum is preserved a full account of this embassy, under the title of "Relation de ce qui se traita à Calais, entre les deputés de Charles V. et ceux de François I., où présidoit le Cardinal d'York, légat, comme médiateur de la part du roy d'Angleterre, l'an 1521."

[9] *Furnished like a cardinall.*] Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 620) is preserved the Steward's Account of the Embassy of 1521, thus described in Wanley's *Catalogue*. "The booke of Solucions in my Lord Grace's journey to Cales, Bruges, and other places; Mr. Robert Carter occupyinge the office of stewardship, anno 13mo r. R. Henrici VIII." "This journey is understood to commence on Monday, 29th of July, and to end on Sunday, the first day of December following, when Cardinal Wolsey, in his return, dined at Sittingbourne, in Kent. But, besides this journal, here is an account of the velvet, scarlet bonnets, &c. delivered to the cardinal's servants who attended him in his embassy, and of other expenses in his family during the time above-mentioned." The whole amount of the expenses is summed up at 2386*l.* 14*s.* 6¼*d.*

[1] *Most highely entertaine.*] At Bruges, "he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth unto so mighty a pillar of Christes church, and was

charging all his charges, and all his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein any gentlemen of the cardinalls were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperors officers, that they, upon paine of their lives, should take no money for any thing that the cardinalls servauntes did take of any kind of victualls, no although they were disposed to make any costly banquettes; commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacke no such things as they honestly required, or desired to have, for their honesty and pleasure. Also the emperors officers every nighte went throughe the towne, from house to house, whereas any English gentleman did repast or lodged, and served their liveries for all night; which was done in this manner: first the officers brought into the house a cast of fine manchet [2], and of silver two great pottes, with white wine, and sugar, to the weight of a pound; white lightes and yellow lightes; a bowle of silver, with a goblet to drinke in; and every night a staffe torch. This was the order of their liveries every night. And then in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch away their stuffe, then would they accompt with the hostes for the gentlemens costes spent in the daye before. Thus the emperor entertained the cardinall and all his traine, for the time of his embassage there. And that done, he returned home againe into Englande, with great triumphe, being no lesse in estimation with the kinge, than he was before, but rather much better.

Nowe will I declare unto you his order in going to West-

saluted at the entering into the towne of a merry fellow which sayd, *Salve Rex regis tui, atque regni sui*, Hayle both king of thy king, and also of his realme." Tindal's *Works*, p. 370, A.D. 1572.

[2] *Fine manchet.*] Bread of the finest flour.

minster Hall, dayly in the tearme season. First ere he came out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his closet: and as I heard one of his chaplains saye, which was a man of credence and of excellent learning, the cardinall, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to bed with any parte of his divine service unsaide, not so much as one collect; wherein I doubt not but he deceived the opinion of diverse persons. Then going againe to his privy chamber, he would demaund to some of his saide chamber, if his servauntes were in a readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. He being thereof then advertised, came out of his privy chamber, about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red; that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet, or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satten engrained; his pillion [3] of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with blacke velvet, and a tippet of sables about his necke; holding in his hande an orange, whereof the meate or substance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the parte of a spunge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent aires; the which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any presse, or else that he was pestered with any suiters [4]. And before him was borne first the broade

[3] *Pillion.*] Cap, from the Latin *pileus.*

[4] *Pestered with any suiters.*] We have seen how rapid was the Cardinal's rise. It should seem, that very soon after his elevation, he contracted a demeanour and carriage, even towards persons of the highest rank, which was very likely, in its season, to contribute to his fall. Could a Talbot or a Dacre easily bear to hear of such neglect from an upstart ecclesiastic, as we have on record from unquestionable authority? George, earl of Shrewsbury, was at this time steward of the royal household: and he had a suit to the king, apparently connected with his official duties, which was to reach his sovereign through the mediation of the favourite, the time being within about

seale of Englande, and his cardinall's hat by a lorde or some gentleman of worship, right solemnely. And as soone as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was dayly attending upon him, as well noble men of this realme, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his owne family; his two great crosses were there attending, to be borne before him. Then cried the gentlemen ushers, going before him, bare headed,

two years from Wolsey's elevation to that dignity. Thomas Alen, a confidential servant of the Earl, writes thus to his master:—

"Upon Monday was se'nnight last past, I delivered your letters to the Cardinal at Guilford; whereas he commanded me to wait upon him to the Court, and I should have precepts on them. . . . I followed him to the Court and there gave attendance, and could have no answer. Upon Friday last he came from thence to Hampton Court, where he lieth. The day after I besought his grace I might know his pleasure: I could have no answer then. Upon Monday last, as he walked in the Park at Hampton Court, I besought him I might know, if he would command me any service: he was not pleased with me that I spake to him. The Sunday before, I delivered the letter unto him which Ralph Leach brought: I can have no answer to neither of both. He *that shall be a suitor to him may have no other business but give attendance upon his pleasure:* he that shall so do is needful to be a wiser man than I am. I saw no other remedy, but come without answer, to pursue such things in London as your lordship commands to be done; except I would have done as my Lord Dacre's servant doth, which came with letters for the king's grace five months since, and yet hath no answer; and another servant of the Deputy of Calais in like wise, which came before he" (the Cardinal) "rode to Walsingham. I hear that he answered them; 'If ye be not content to tarry my leisure, depart when ye will.' This is truth; I had lever your lordship commanded me to . . . than to deliver unto him letters and to bring answer of the same. When he walks in the park, he will suffer no suitor to come nigh unto him; but commands him away as far as a man will shoot an arrow." Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 28.

After the Cardinal's fall, and when sickness and sorrow were pressing heavily upon him, he was treated kindly, and even compassionately by this nobleman, as we shall learn from Cavendish, towards the close of our narrative: but are we to wonder much that previously we find the name of Shrewsbury subscribed to the articles of the favourite's impeachment?

and said "On before my lordes and masters, on before; and make way for my Lord Cardinall." Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeaunt of armes before him bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying of two great pillars of silver; and when he came to the hall doore, then his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two crosse bearers, and his pillar bearers [5], in like case, upon great horses trapped all in fine

[5] *Two crosse bearers, and his pillar bearers.*] The pillar, as well as the cross, was emblematical, and designed to imply, that the dignitary before whom it was carried was a *pillar* of the church. Dr. Barnes, who had good reason why these pillars should be uppermost in his thoughts, glances at this emblem, in the case of the cardinal, in the following words: "and yet it must bee true, because a *pillar of the church* hath spoken it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1572. See also Tindal's *Works*, p. 370.

Skelton, Poet-laureate of that time, wrote a most severe satire and invective against this cardinal, entitled "Why come ye nat to Courte?" and, upon its publication, fled to the sanctuary in Westminster for refuge. Another satire, equally severe, called "Rede me and be not wrothe," has been attributed to Skelton, but it is really the work of William Roy, who therein takes notice of these crosses (and pillars) in the following lines:

With worldly pompe incredible
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they bear two *crosses* right longe,
Gapynge in every mans face.
After them folowe two laye-men secular
And eache of theym holdyng a *pillar*
In their hondes, steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule
Trapped with gold.
Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behynd and some before.

Almost every action of Wolsey hath been interpreted as an instance of pomp, ambition, or insolence; notwithstanding probably, upon a full examination,

scarlett. Then marched he forwarde, with a traine of noblemen and gentlemen, having his foote-men fower in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt poll-axe in their handes: and thus passed he forthe untill he came to Westminster Hall doore. And there he alighted and went after this manner, up into the chauncery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he would goe into the chauncery, and staye a while at a barre, made for him, beneathe the chauncery, on the right hand, and there commune sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons. And that done he would repair into the chauncery, sitting there till an eleven of the clocke, hearing of suites and determining of other matters. And from thence, he would diverse times goe into the star chamber, as occasion would serve. There he spared neither highe nor lowe, but judged every estate according to his merits, and desertes.

He used also every Sunday to resorte to the courte, then being for the most parte of all the yeere at Greenwiche, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne staires furnished with yeomen standing upon the bayles, and his gentlemen being within a boat; and landed againe at the Three Cranes[6] in the vintree. And from thence he rode upon his mule, with his crosses, his pillers, his hat, and the broade seale carried before him, on horse-back through Thames-street, untill he came to Billingsgate; and there took his barge againe, and so rowed to Greenwich, where he

most of them will be found to be strictly precedented. Anstis's *Letter to Dr. Fiddes*, in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 89. Appendix. Roy's satire is reprinted entire in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. pp. 1—83. edit. 1812.

[6] *Landed againe at the Three Cranes.*] In Upper Thames street. He landed in order to avoid the danger of passing under London Bridge when the tide was ebbing and the fall of water was great; his barge in the mean time "shooting the bridge," as the passage down the fall was familiarly termed.

was nobly received of the lordes and chief officers of the kings house, bearing their white staves, as the treasurer and comptroller, with many others; and so they conveied him to the kings chamber, his crosses, for the time of his tarrying, standing there in a corner, on the one side of the kings cloath of estate. Then he being there, the courte was fully furnished with noble men and gentlemen, which was before his coming but slenderly furnished. And after dinner among the lordes, having some consultation with the kinge, or with his counsell, he would depart home with like triumphe[7]: and this order he used continually, as opportunity did serve.

[7] *With like triumphe.*] We have already seen that all this pomp did not pass free from animadversion. But it was exposed to censures more solemn than those which flowed merely from the satirist's pen. Sir Thomas More, when speaker of the House of Commons, noticing a complaint which had been made by the cardinal, that nothing could be said or done in that house, but it was presently spread abroad, and became the talk of every tavern or alehouse, "Masters, (says he) forasmuche as my lord cardinall latelie laied to our charges the lightnes of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my minde be amisse to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillers, pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and the greate seale too; to thintent, that if he finde the like fault with us heereafter, wee maie be the bolder from ourselves to laie the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him." Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 38. edit. 1729. Sir Thomas also, in his Apology, written in the year 1533, reflects severely upon the change introduced among the clergy, through the cardinal's means, in the luxury and sumptuousness of their dress. *Works*, p. 892.

The pulpit likewise occasionally raised its voice against him. Doctor Barnes, who was burnt in Smithfield in the year 1541, preached at St. Edward's church, in Cambridge, a sermon, for which he was called to appear before the cardinal. This was a part of their dialogue, as it is related in Fox: "What, Master Doctor, (said the cardinall) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cushions, my cross did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily that day laughed to scorne. Verely it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a

Thus in great honour, triumphe, and glory he reigned a long season, ruling all things within this realme, appertayning unto the kinge, by his wisdome, and also in all other weighty matters in foraigne regions, with which the king of this realme had any occasion to intermeddle. All ambassadors of foraigne potentates were alwaies dispatched by his wisdome, to whom they had continuall access for their dispatch. His house was alwaies resorted like a kings house, with noble men and gentlemen, with coming and going in and out, feasting, and banquetting these ambassadors diverse times, and all other right nobly.

And when it pleased the kings majesty, for his recreation, to repaire unto the cardinalls house, as he did diverse times in the yeare, there wanted no preparation, or goodly furniture, with

stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I weare a paire of *redde* gloves, I should say *bloudie* gloves (*quoth you*), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies. And Barnes answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1088. Barnes himself drew up an account of this interview, in which he opens to us some part of the philosophy upon which the cardinal defended the fitness of that pomp and state which he maintained. "Then sayd hee, How thinke you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignitie that I am, to coyne my pyllers, and pollaxes, and to give the money to five or six beggers, then for to mayntaine the commonwealth by them, as I doe? Do you not reckon (*quoth hee*) the commonwealth better then five or sixe beggers? To this I did answere, that I reckoned it more to the honour of God, and to the salvation of *his* soule, and also to the comfort of his poore brethren, that they were coyned, and given in almes. And as for the commonwealth, it did not hang of them: for as his grace knew, the commonwealth was afore his grace, and must bee when his grace is gone, and the pillers and pollaxes came with him, and should also goe away with him. Notwithstanding, if the commonwealth were in such a condition, that it had need of them, then might his grace so long use them, or any other thing in their stead, so long as the commonwealth needed them."—Barnes's *Works*, p. 215, A.D. 1572. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 956.

viandes of the finest sorte that could be gotten for money or friendshippe. Such pleasures were then devised for the kings consolation, or comforte, as might be invented or imagined. Banquettes were set forthe, masks, and moumeries, in so gorgeous a sorte, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, nor damoselles, meete or apt to daunce with the maskers, or to garnish the place for that time, with other goodly disportes. Then was there all kinde of musicke and harmony set forthe, with excellent fine voices bothe of men and children. I have seen the kinge come sodainly thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments, like shepardes, made of fine cloathe of golde, and fine crimson satten paned[8], and cappes of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnamy[9]; their heares, and beardes either of fine gold wier or of silver, or else of good black silke; having sixteene torch bearers, besides three drummes, and other persons attending them, with visors, clothed all in satten, of the same color. And before his entering into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noyse, where were laide divers chambers[1] and gunnes, charged with shot, and at his landing they were shote off, which made such a rumble in the ayer, that it was like thunder. It made all the noble men, gen-

[8] *Paned.*] Shaded or inlaid in compartments of angular form, like panes. The word is still used to denote compartments on the bindings of bibles and prayer-books: its application to clothes has ceased with the fashion.

[9] *Visnamy.*] A corruption of *physiognomy.*

"And but half seen his ugly visnomie."

Spenser's *Faëry Queen.*

[1] *Chambers.*] "Short pieces of ordnance or cannon, which stood on their breeching without any carriage, used chiefly for rejoicings, and theatrical cannonades, being little more than *chambers* for powder."—Nares' *Glossary,* in v.

tlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen to muse what it should meane coming so sodainly, they sitting quiet at solemne banquet; under this sorte; First ye shall perceive, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, nise covered, and my lord cardinall sitting under the cloathe of estate, there having all his service alone; and then was there set a lady and a noble man, or a gentleman or gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made adjoyning, as it were but one table. All which order and devise was done by the lorde Sandes[2], then lorde chamberlaine to the king, and by sir Henry Guilforde controller of the kings majesties house. Then immediately after this great shot of gunnes, the cardinall desired the lord chamberlain, and the said controller to looke what it should meane, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe, and shewed him, that it seemed they were noble men and strangers arrived at his bridge, coming as ambassadors from some forraigne prince. With that quoth the cardinall, "I desire you, because you can speake Frenche, to take the pains to goe into the hall there to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages being merry at our banquett, desiring them to sit downe with us, and to take parte of our fare." Then went they incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they received them with twenty newe torches, and conveied them up into the chamber, with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldome seen together, at one place and time. At their arrivall into the cham-

[2] *Lorde Sandes.*] William Sandys, who, according to Dugdale, was created lord Sandys in 1523, but he was not summoned to Parliament till 1529.

ber, two and two together, they went directly before the cardinall where he sat, and saluted him very reverently; to whom the lorde chamberlain for them saide, "Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers, and cannot speake Englishe, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant banquette, where was assembled such a number of excellent faire dames, could doe no lesse, under the supportation of your grace, but to repaire hither to viewe as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchaunce[3], and then after to daunce with them and to have of their acquaintance. And sir, furthermore they require of your grace licence to accomplish the saide cause of their cominge." To whome the cardinall saide, he was very well content they should so doe. Then went the maskers and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened their great cup of gold, filled with crownes, and other pieces of golde, to whome they set certaine of the pieces of golde to cast at. Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they loste, and of some they wonne. And perusing after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall, with great reverence, pouring downe all the golde left in their cuppe, which was above two hundred

[3] *Mumchaunce.*] Mum-chance, a game of hazard, with dice.—Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 155.

"Silence seems to have been essential at it: whence its name:

"And for *mum-chance*, howe'er the chance do fall,
You must be *mum*, for fear of marring all.
"*Machiavell's Dog.* in *Old Plays*, xii. 423."

It seems to have been also played with cards:

"The cardes are fetch'd, and *mumchance* or decoy is the game."
Dekkar's *Bellman of London.*
Nares' *Glossary*, in v.

crownes. "At all," quoth the cardinall[4], and so cast the dice, and wonne them, whereat was made great noyse and joie. Then quoth the cardinall to my lord chamberlen, "I pray you," quoth he, "that you will shew them, that mee seemeth, there should be a noble man amongst them, who is more meete to occupy this seate and place than am I; to whome I would most gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knewe him." Then spake my lord chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my lorde cardinall's wordes, and they rounding[5] him againe in the eare, the lord chamberlen saide to my lord cardinall, "Sir, they confesse," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personnage, whome if your grace can appoint out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to take and accepte your place, most worthely." With that the cardinall, taking a good advisement among them, at the last quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentleman with the black bearde should be even he." And with that he rose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the same gentleman in the blacke bearde, with his cap in his hande. The person to whom he offered then his chaire was sir Edward Neville[6], a comely knight of a goodly personnage, that much

[4] *"At all," quoth the cardinall.*]

"——— There is my honour's pawn:
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.
Aumerle. Who *sets* me else? By heaven, I'll throw *at all:*
I have a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twenty thousand such as you."
King Richard II. Act IV. Scene 1.

[5] *Rounding.*] *Whispering. Muttering.* Shakspeare and others draw a distinction between whispering and rounding.

"They're here with me already, whispering, rounding."
Winter's Tale, act i. sc. 2.

[6] *Sir Edward Neville.*] He was third son of George, second lord Aberga-

more resembled the kings person in that maske, than any other. The king hearing and perceiving the cardinall so deceived in his estimation and choice, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his visor, and Mr. Neville's also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheare, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the kinge to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinall eftsoones desired his highnesse to take the place of estate, to whome the king answered, that he would goe first and shifte his apparell; and soe departed, and went straighte into my lord cardinalls bed chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him; and there newe apparelled him with riche and princely garments. And in the time of the kings absence, the dishes of the banquette were cleane taken up, and the table spreade againe with newe and cleane perfumed cloathes; every man sitting still untill the kings majesty with all his maskers came in among them againe, every man newly apparelled. Then the king tooke his seate under the cloathe of estate, comanding every person to sit still, as they did before. In came a newe banquette before the king's majesty, and to all the reste throughout all the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred divers dishes of wonderous costly devises and subtilties. Thus passed they forthe the nighte with banquetting, dauncing, and other triumphant devises, to the great comforte of the kinge, and pleasaunt regarde of the nobility there assembled.

venny, and was one of Henry's choice friends and companions, partaking alike of the king's pleasures and campaigns, if such they can be called. He partook also of the fate which attended other of Henry's friends, for he was indicted as a favourer of Reginald Pole, and was attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 9th Jan. 1538. He is the direct ancestor of the earl of Abergavenny and also of the Nevilles of Billingbear, now represented by lord Braybrooke.

All this matter I have declared largely, because ye shall understande what joy and delight the cardinall had, to see his prince and soveraigne lorde in his house, so nobely entertained and placed, which was alwaies his only study, to devise things to his comforte, not passing upon the charges or expenses. It delighted him so much, to have the king's pleasaunt and princely presence, that nothing was to him more delectable, than to cheare his soveraigne lorde, to whome he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no lesse, all things well considered.

Thus passed the cardinall his time forthe, from daye to daye, and yeare to yeare, in such great wealthe, joye, and triumphe, and glory, having alwaies on his side the king's especiall favor; untill fortune, of whose favour no man is longer assured, than she is disposed, began to waxe somethinge wrothe with his prosperous estate. And for the better meane to bring him lowe, she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument; who brought the kinge in love with a gentlewoman, that, after she perceived and felt the king's goodwill towards her, how glad he was to please her, and to graunt all her requeste, wrought the cardinall muche displeasure; as hereafter shall be more at large declared. This gentlewoman was the daughter of sir Thomas Bulleine knight, being at that time but only a batchelor knight, the which afterwards, for the love of his daughter, was promoted to high dignities[7]. He bare at diverse severall times for the most

[7] *To high dignities.*] Knight of the king's body and governor of Norwich castle (3 Henry VIII.). Ambassador to the emperor (4 Henry VIII.). Ambassador in France (11 Henry VIII.). Ambassador to the emperor (13 Henry VIII.) Treasurer of the household and ambassador to Spain (14 Henry VIII.). K. G. 1523. Created viscount Rochford (18 June, 17 Henry VIII. 1525). Ambassador to France (19 Henry VIII.). Created earl of

parte all the great romes of the king's household, as comptroller, and treasurer, and the like. Then was he made viscount Rocheforde; and at the last created earle of Wiltshire, and knight of the noble order of the Garter; and, for his more increase of honor and gaines, was made lorde keeper of the privy seale, and one of the chiefest of the king's counsell; thus continued he, untill his sonne and daughter began to fall into the king's high indignation and displeasure. The king during his favor fantased soe much his daughter, that almost all things began to growe out of frame.

To tell you howe the king's love began to take place, and what followed thereof, I will doe even as much as I know to declare to you. This gentlewoman was commonly called Mistress Anne Bulleine. She being but very young [8], was sent into the realme of Fraunce, and there made one of the french queene's [1] women,

Wiltshire and Ormond (8 Dec., 21 Henry VIII. 1529). Lord Privy Seal (24 Jan. 1530). He was again ambassador to Charles V. He died in 1538.

[8] *Very young.*] "Not above seven years of age, anno 1514." MS. Twysd. The above is taken from a small fragment of this Life, which has been very recently printed, from a MS. in the handwriting of Sir Roger Twysden, bart., in the margin of which fragment a few notes occur, from the pen of the same eminent antiquarian.

[1] *French queene's.*] "It should seeme by somme that she served three in France successively; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the Twelfth an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Clauda, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then queene (it is likely upon the commendation of Mary the dowager), who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France, she went to live with Marguerite, dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a lady much commended for her favour towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of

continuing there untill the french queen died. And then was she sent for home againe [2]; and being againe with her father, he made such meanes, that she was admitted one of queen Katherine's women; among whome, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excell all other; in so much that the kinge began to grow enamoured with her [3]; which was not known to any person, ne scantly to her owne person.

Protestant religion; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that lady."—MS. Twysd.

[2] *Sent for home againe.*] "Cavendish says that she returned after the death of Clauda, which happened on the 20th July, 1524. Spelman (p. 2) makes her remain in the family of the duchess of Alençon, who quitted France in September, 1525, and was married to the nominal king of Navarre in 1527. It is plain that neither of these dates can be correct. Herbert assures us (and appeals for the assertion to 'our records') that she returned to England in 1522, 'at the same time when our students at Paris were remanded' (pp. 46 and 122). Fiddes informs us that Francis complained to the English ambassador, that 'the English scholars and the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn should return home' (p. 268). The cause of her recall appears in the 'State Papers.'

"Lord Surrey, to put an end to the dispute between the Butlers and the Boleyns, had suggested to Henry that the son of Sir Piers Butler should marry the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn (St. Pap. ii. 5). The plan was approved by Henry after some hesitation; and the Cardinal by his order undertook to bring about the marriage (ib. i. 91). The editors of the State Papers suppose that the daughter in question was Mary Boleyn, because Anne was in France at the date of Wolsey's letter, Nov. 1521. But they were not aware that Mary was married nine months before, and that of course the proposal could apply to no one but Anne. The dates also correspond. Wolsey undertook the negotiation in November, and the order for Anne's return reached Paris in the beginning of the next year." Lingard, vi. 111, 112. Mary Boleyn was married on the 31st Jan. 1521, to William Carey, gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

[3] *To grow enamoured with her.*] Henry's passion for her endured nearly ten years before he attained his wishes. It arose certainly not later than the summer of 1523, when she was sixteen years old; she was not created marchioness of Pembroke till Sept. 1, 1532, nor crowned as queen till Easter,

Nowe was at that time the lorde Peircie[4], sonne and heire of the earle of Northumberlande, attending upon my lord cardinall, and was his servaunte; and when it chaunced the said lorde cardinall at any time to repaire unto the courte, the lord Percie would resorte then for his pastime into queen Katherine's chamber, and there would he fall in dalliance among the maides, being at the last more conversante with Mrs. Anne Bulleine, than with any other, so that there grewe such a secrette love betweene them, that at the length, they were insured together[5], intending to marrye. The which thinge when it came to the king's knowledge, he was therewith mightily offended. Wherefore he could no longer hide his secret affection, but he revealed[6] his whole dis-

1533. Lingard (vi. 113) says, "the king's passion for Anne must have begun at the latest in the summer of 1526, probably much earlier." Lingard had forgotten that by fixing the date of Percy's marriage in 1523-4, he had proved it to be *much earlier*. See p. 57, note.

[4] *The lorde Peircie.*] Henry Algernon Percy, who at the death of his father, in 1527, became sixth earl of Northumberland. He married Mary, daughter of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. By his death without issue, shortly after the attainder and execution of his brother sir Thomas Percy in 1537, the title of Northumberland became extinct until it was revived as a dukedom by Edward VI. in 1551, in favor of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, the son of that Dudley who was attainted with Empson. In two short years he was attainted and executed, and in 1557 the son of sir Thomas Percy was restored to the family honors and estates. Whilst reading the eventful history of Wolsey, it is well to note the chequered fortunes of the other actors on the scene.

[5] *Insured together.*] This expression, unless the author himself were misinformed, must not be extended to imply an absolute pre-contract. For lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII., p. 448, has published an original letter from this nobleman, then earl of Northumberland, written in the year 1536, a short time before queen Anne's suffering, in which he denies any such contract, in the most solemn terms.

[6] *He revealed.*] This must have been in the summer of 1523. It was not till the end of 1527, after the departure of Montmorency, that Wolsey

pleasure and secrets unto the cardinall in that behalfe; and willed him to infringe the assuraunce, made then betweene the saide lord Peircie and Mrs. Anne Bulleine: in somuch as, the cardinall, after his retourne home from the courte to his house in Westminster, being in his gallery, not forgetting the king's commandement, called then the saide lord Peircie unto his presence, and before us his servauntes, then attending upon him, saide unto him thus.

"I marvaile not a little," quoth he, "of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus entangle and ensure thyselfe with a foolish girle yonder in the courte, Anne Bulleine. Doest thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this worlde? For after thy father's death, thou art most like to inherit and enjoye one of the noblest earledomes of this region. Therefore it had bene most meete, and convenient for thee, to have sued for the consent of thy father in that case, and to have also made the King's Highness privy thereof, requiring therein his princely favor, submitting thy proceedinge in all such matters unto his Highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but would, I am assured, have provided so for thy purpose therein, that he would have advaunced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thine estate, and honor, whereby thou mightest have growne so by thy wise behaviour in the king's high estimation, that it should have beene much thine advauncement. But now see what ye have done, through your wilfulness. You have not only offended your father, but also your loving soveraigne lorde, and matched your selfe with one, such as neither the king, nor your father will be agreeable to

was astounded by Henry's information that he intended to *marry* Anne Boleyn.

the match. And hereof I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for thy father, and at his coming, he shall either breake this unadvised bargaine, or else disinherit thee for ever[7]. The king's majesty himselfe will complaine to thy father on thee, and require no lesse than I have saide; whose Highnesse intending to have preferred Anne Bulleine unto another person[8], wherein the kinge hath already travelled, and being almost at a pointe with the same person for her, although she knoweth not it, yet hath the kinge, most like a politique and prudent prince, conveied the matter in such sorte, that she, upon his Grace's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glade, and agreeable to the same." "Sir," quoth the lorde Piercie all weping, "I know nothing of the king's pleasure herein, for the which I am very sorry. I considered I am of good yeares, and thought myselfe sufficient to provide me a convenient wife, whereas my fancy served me best, not doubting but that my lorde my father would have bene right well contented. And although she be but a simple maide, having but a knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble bloud and parentage. As for her mother, she is nigh of the Norfolke's bloud; and as for her father, he is descended of the earle of Ormond, being one of the earle's heirs generall. Why should I then, Sir, be any thing

[7] *Disinherit thee for ever.*] This threat, coupled with blighted love, must needs have embittered Percy's feelings towards Wolsey; and when we know, in addition, that his forced marriage with lord Shrewsbury's daughter was unhappy, it seems strange that Fiddes, in his Life of Wolsey, should charge Northumberland with ingratitude for taking part in the cardinal's arrest.

[8] *Unto another person.*] Meaning the son of sir Piers Butler. Wolsey evidently wished lord Percy to believe that the king's displeasure arose simply from Percy's wish to marry a person inferior to himself, and who was destined for another. Percy's answer and lord Northumberland's rebuke imply the same.

scrupulous to matche with her, whose estate and descent is equall with mine, even when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly require your grace of your favor herein; and also to intreat the king's majesty most humbly on my behalfe, for his princely favor in this matter, the which I cannot forsake." "Loe Sirs," quoth the cardinall unto us, "ye may see what wisdome is in this willfull boies heade. I thought when thou heardest me declare the king's pleasure and intendment herein, that thou wouldest have relented, and put thyselfe and thy voluptuous acte wholly to the king's will and pleasure, and by him to have been ordered, as his grace should have thought good." "Sir," quoth the lorde Piercie, "so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far, before many worthy witnesses, that I know not how to discharge my selfe and my conscience." "Whie, thinkest thou," saide the cardinall, "that the king and I know not what we have to doe, in as weighty a matter as this? Yes (quoth he), I warrant thee. But I can see in thee no submission to the purpose." "Forsothe, my lord," quoth the lord Peircy, "if it please your grace, I will submit myself wholly unto the king's majestie, and to your grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weighty burthen thereof." "Well then," quoth the cardinall, "I will send for your father out of the North[1] partes, and he and we shall take suche order in this matter as shall be thought by the king most convenient. And in the meane season, I charge that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abide the

[1] *Out of the North.*] Northumberland had been appointed, shortly before, warden of the whole Marches, an office which he soon resigned. On or about the 20th of October in 1523 he joined Surrey, who was then levying a force against the duke of Albany. Albany made his sudden retreat before Surrey on the 3rd November following.

king's indignation." And therewith he rose up, and went his way into his chamber.

Then was the Earle of Northumberland sent for in the king's name, who upon the receit of the king's letters, made all the spede that he could unto the king, out of the north. At his comyng, first he made his resorte unto my lord cardinall, as most commonly did all other noble personages that were sent for in such sorte, at whose hands they were advertised of the cause of their sending for. But when the earle was come to my lord, he was brought incontinent unto him in his gallery. After whose meeting my lord cardinall and he were in secret communication a long space. And after their long talke, and drinking of a cup of wine, the earle departed. And in going his way, he sat down at the galleries ende in the halfe pace upon a forme that was standing there for the wayter's ease. And being there set called his sonne unto him, we standing before him, and said thus in effecte unto him. "Sonne," quoth he, "even as thou art, and allwaies hast bin a proude licentious disdainfull and a very unthrifty waster[2], so hast thou now declared thyselfe. Wherefore what joy, what comforte, what pleasure or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus without discretion hast misused thyselfe, having neither regard unto me thy naturall father, nor unto thy naturall soveraigne lorde, to whom all subjectes loyall beare faithfull obe-

[2] *Unthrifty waster*.] "This earl hath been called 'Henry the unthrifty.'" . . . . "But when he found the attainder of his brother and his family unavoidable (in 1537), in the last moments of his life he bequeathed all his estates to the king, probably by the wise forecast of some eminent lawyers, by whom he appears to have been directed (from his own letters), in order that the great family estates, being vested in the crown, might be capable at some future period of being restored to his heirs, in which expectation he was not disappointed." Collins, by Brydges, ii. 314.

dience; ne yet to the wealth of thine owne estate, but hast so unadvisedly assured thy selfe unto her, for whome thou hast purchased the king's highe displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustaine? And but that his grace doeth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter ruine and destruction. But he being my singular good and favorable prince, and my lord cardinall my good lord, hath and doeth clearely excuse me in thy leaud fact, and doeth rather lament thy lightness, than maligne me for the same; and hath devised an order to be taken for thee; to whom bothe thou and I be more bound than we be able well to consider. I pray to God that this may be unto thee a sufficient admonition to use thy selfe more wisely hereafter: for that I assure thee, if thou doest not amend thy prodegallity, thou wilt be the last earle of our house. For of thy naturall inclination thou art disposed to be wastefull and prodigall, and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travaile gathered and kept together with honor. But having the king's majesty my singular good and gracious lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that ye shall consume thereof but a little. For I doe not entend, I tell the truth, to make thee mine heire; for, thanks be to God, I have more boies, that I trust will prove much better, and use themselves more like unto wise and honest men: of whome I will chuse the most likely to succede me. Nowe good masters and gentlemen," (quoth he unto us,) "it may be your chaunces hereafter, when I am deade, to see these things that I have spoken to my sonne prove as true as I spake them. Yet in the meane season, I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault, when he doeth amisse, wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly unto him.

And here" (quoth he), "I take my leave of you. And sonne, go your waies in to my lorde your master, and attend upon him, according to thy duty." And so he departed, and went his waye downe the hall into his barge.

Then after long consultation and debating in this the lord Percies late assurance, it was devised that the same should be infringed, and dissolved, and that the lord Piercy should marry one of the earle of Shrewsburies daughters. And so he did indeede after all this[3]; by meanes whereof the former contract was dissolved; wherewith Mistress Anne Bulleine was greatly offended, promising if it ever lay in her power, she would worke much displeasure to the cardinall; as after she did in deede. And yet was he not in blame altogether; for he did nothing but by the king's devised commaundement. And even as my lord Piercy was commanded to avoide her company, so she was discharged of the courte, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat

[3] *And so he did indeede after all this.*] "We know not the exact date of the marriage of the young Percy to Mary Talbot: but I possess the copy of a letter from the earl of Surrey to lord Darcy, 'scribbled the 12th day of September,' in the year 1523, in which lord Surrey, having stated that he forwarded to him a letter from the cardinal, adds—'the marriage of my lorde Percy shal be w^t^ my lorde steward's doghter, wherof I am right glade, and so I am sure ye be. Now the cheff baron [John Fitzjames] is with my lorde of Northumberland to conclude the marriage.' We may therefore safely infer that it took place about the end of 1523 or the beginning of 1524: another proof that the historians who place the return of Anne in the year 1527 are in error." Lingard, vi. 112. "Nor did the marriage prove happy, for she was delivered of a dead child; nor had ever any issue that survived. And in the latter part of his life, he lived in a state of separation from her: drooping with a broken constitution, till the execution of his brother, and the attainder of his family, seem to have put an immediate end to his life, for he died (30 June, 1537) in the very same month in which his brother was executed." Collins, by Brydges, ii. 313.

she smoked: for all this while she knew nothing of the king's entended purpose.

But ye may see, when fortune beginneth to lower, how she can compasse a matter of displeasure by a faire fetche. For nowe, marke the grudge howe it began, that in processe of time wrought the cardinalls undoing.—O Lorde, what a God art thou! that workest thy secrets so wonderfully, that they be not perceived till they be brought to passe and finished. Marke this story following, good reader, and note every circumstance, and then shalt thou espy at thine eye a wonderfull worke of God, against such persons as forget God and his great benefits! Mark therefore, I say, and consider them well!

After these my lord Percies troublesome matters brought unto a good stay, and all things done that before were devised, Mistress Anne Bulleine was revoked unto the court, whereas she florished after in great estimation and favour; having allwaies a privy grudge against my lord cardinall, for breaking of the contract made betweene my lord Peircy and her, supposing that it had bin his devised will and none other, nor yet knowing the kings secret mind thoroughly, who had a great affection unto her, more than she knewe. But after she knewe the kings pleasure, and the bottom of his secret stomacke, then she began to looke very haughty and stoute, lacking no manner of jewells, or riche apparrel, that might be gotten for money. It was therefore judged by and bye through the court of every man, that she being in such favour, might worke masteries with the king, and obteine any suite of him for her friend.

All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good queene Katherine, having this gentlewoman dayly attending upon her, both hearde by reporte, and sawe with

her eyes[4], how it framed against her good ladyshippe: although she shewed neither unto Mistress Anne Bulleine, ne unto the king, any kinde or sparke of grudge or displeasure; but accepted all things in goode parte, and with wisdome and great pacience dissimuled the same, having Mistress Anne in more estimation for the kings sake, than she was with her before, declaring her selfe to be a very perfect Grisell[5], as her patient actes shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared.

The king waxed soe farre enamoured with this gentlewoman, that he knewe not how much he might advaunce her. This perceiving the great lordes of the counsell, who bearing a secret grudge against my lord cardinall, for that they could not rule for him, as they would, in the world, because he bare all the stroake

[4] *Both hearde by reporte, and sawe with her eyes.*] It is clear that for however long a time Katharine may have suspected or known of Henry's love for Anne Boleyn, she was ignorant until shortly before Wolsey's embassy to France in 1527 of his intention to institute measures for a divorce from herself. On the 15th July secretary Knight writes to Wolsey that "Françoise Philip, Spagniard, server unto the quene" desired to go to Spain, but that the queen refused him leave. Henry believed this refusal to be feigned, gave him leave and safe conduct, desiring Wolsey to do the same; but Knight adds:—"His pleasure ys, and allso he desireth and prayeth your grace to use such policie, as notwithstanding any salve conduct that the said Philip shall obteigne, ether by your graces meanes, or any other of the Frensh king, he may be let, empesched, and deteigned in sum quartier of Fraunce, so that it be not in any wyse knowen, that the said lett, arrest, or deprehension, should cum by the king, by your grace, or any of the kinges subgectes. *The kinges highnesse doith perceyve, that the queene is thoonly cawse of this mannys goyng into Spaigne, as he that is and hath bene allways prive unto the quene hir affaires and secretes.*" St. Pap. i. 215. This was probably an attempt on the part of Katharine to communicate with the emperor her nephew on the subject of the intended divorce.

[5] *Perfect Grisell.*] See Chaucer, *Clerk of Oxenford's Tale*, which is founded upon an incident first told by Boccacio, and afterwards by Petrarca.

with the king, and ruled as well the great lordes, as all other meane subjects, they took an occasion to invent a meane to bringe him out of the kings estimation, and themselves into more authority of rule and governaunce. After long and secret consultation amongst themselves, howe to bringe this malice towards the cardinall to effect, they knew right well that it was very difficile for them to doe it directly of themselves. Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love that the king bare to Mistress Anne Bulleine, supposing in their fantasies that she should be for them an apt instrument to bring their long desired intents to passe, consulted often with her in this matter. And she having bothe a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure unto my lord cardinall, was alwaies agreeable to their requestes, as they were themselves. Wherefore there was no more to doe, but only to imagine any occasion to worke their malice by some presented circumstance. Then were there dayly invented among them diverse imaginations and subtle devises, how the matter should be brought about. The enterprize thereof was so dangerous, that though they would fain have attempted the matter with the king, yet they durst not; for they knewe the great zeal that the king bare to the cardinall, and also they feared the wonderful wit of the cardinall. For this they knewe very well, that if the matter that they should propose against him were not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the kings favor was such towardes him, and his wit suche withall, that he would with pollicy vanquish all their purpose and travaile, and then lye in a-wait to worke them an utter destruction and eversion. They were compelled, all things considered, to forbeare the enterprize until they might espy a more convenient time and occasion.

And yet the cardinall, espying the great zeale that the king had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himselfe to please as well the king as her, dissimuling the matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquettes and high feastes to entertaine the kinge and her at his owne house. And thus the world beganne to grow to wonderfull inventions, not heard of before in this realme. Love betwixt the king and this gorgeous lady, grewe to such a perfection, that diverse imaginations were imagined, whereof I leave here to speake, untill I come to the place where I may have more occasion.

Then[6] began a certaine grudge[7] to breake out betweene the French king and the duke of Bourbonne, insomuche as the duke, being vassaile to the house of Fraunce, was compelled for the safeguard of his life to flee and forsake the country, doubting the king's malice and indignation. The cardinall, having intelligence of the case chaunced betweene them, compassed in his head, that if the king our soveraigne lorde could obtain him to be his general in the warres against the French king, with whome the king our master had an occasion of warres, and considering further that the duke of Bourbon was fled unto the emperor, to invite him to like purpose: wherefore he having this imagination

[6] *Then.*] In 1523.

[7] *A certaine grudge.*] Arising from the intrigues of Louise of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, whose advances were slighted by the duke, and who in revenge deprived him by an unjust process of law, as he believed, of his estates. Bourbon considered himself not only aggrieved but affronted, an indignity which he could not brook. Brantôme relates, that in reply to the king's message, demanding from him the sword of constable of France and his order, the duke answered, "For the constable's sword,—it was taken from me at Valenciennes, when the king gave the command of the van, which was my right, to the duke d'Alençon; for the order,—I left it hanging at my bed's head at Chantel le Châtel."

in his head thought it good to move the king in the matter. And after the king was once advertised hereof, and conceived the cardinall's invention, he dreamed more and more in the same, untill at the last it came to a consultation amongst the council, so that it was concluded that an embassaye should be sent to the emperor about this matter; with whom it was concluded that the king and the emperor should join in those warres against the French king, and that the duke of Bourbon should be our soveraigne lordes champion and general in the field, who had a great nomber of good souldiours, over and besides the emperors army which was not small; and that the king should paye unto the duke monthly wages[s], both for himselfe and his retinue. In so muche as Sir John Russel, who was after made earle of Bedforde, lay continually beyond the seas, in a secret place, both to receive money of the king, and to paye the some monthly unto the duke. So that the duke began the warres with the French king in his owne territory and dukedome, which the king had confided in his owne hands[1]; it being not perfectly knowne unto the dukes enemies, that he had any ayde of our soveraigne lord. And thus he wrought the French king much displeasure and trouble, in so much that the French king was constrained to prepare a puissant army, and in his own person to resist the

[s] *Monthly wages.*] 100,000 crowns a month, or else to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. The first month only was paid, and an expedition set on foot against France. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, headed a force of 13,000 men, which, joined with the Imperialists, took Bouchain, Bray, Montdidier, Roye, and advanced within forty miles of Paris, but retreated rapidly to Calais on the approach of the duke of Vendôme and the Sire de la Trimouille at the head of a superior force.

[1] *Owne hands.*] The constable Bourbon also laid siege to Marseilles, but was obliged to retire.

dukes power. And with force the king drave him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host, for their security; whereas the king encamped him wonderously strong, intending to enclose the duke within this towne, that he should not issue forth. Yet notwithstanding the duke would and did many times issue forth, and skirmishe with the king.

Nowe let us leave the king in his campe before Pavia, and retourne to the lord cardinall, who seemed to be more French than Imperiall[2].—But howe it came to passe, I cannot declare

[2] *More French than Imperiall.*] "For great and reasonable causes." See the private article, dated 18 Nov. 1525, following the treaty of the Moore (p. 66. note).

Wolsey had been greatly disappointed at the end of 1521, when Leo X. died. He hoped to have been chosen pope, but Adrian Florent, the tutor of Charles V., was elected. At the death of Adrian VI. in 1523, Wolsey's hopes were renewed, and he looked for the *Imperial* interest: either it was withheld, or was not strenuously exerted on his behalf; for Giulio de' Medici was elected pope as Clement VII. It is certain that Wolsey strongly resented this, and his after enmity against Charles V. was bitter. It sometimes even broke out in words. "His majestie [the emperor Charles V.] seyd allso that your grace hath namyd hym to be a lyar, observing no maner off feith or promesse, my lady Margarete a ribawde; Don Fernando, his brodyr, a childe, and so governid; the duke off Burbon a creature. And this reporte was browghte be Monsr. de Bewreyne, now called Monsr. de Rieux, at his last being in England. When he desired eyde off the kings highnesse for Monsr. de Burbon of ij. c. m^{a}. ducats ffor his entree into Burgendie, afftir the presence off the Ffrence king in Italia, then he seyd, that your grace aunsword that the kings highnesse had othir things to doo with his money, than to spend it ffor the pleasor off such iiij. personages, expressing the forseyd words." (Letter from the bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), Sir Rd. Wingfield, and Dr. Rd. Sampson, Engl. Ambrs. in Spain. Dat. Toledo, 2 June (1525). III Ellis, ii. 12.) The battle of Pavia, which placed Francis I. as a captive in the emperor's hands, rendered it no longer necessary for that monarch to court Wolsey as before; and Wolsey himself had been gained over by Giovanni Gioacchino di Passano, and had bound his fortunes in the French alliance.

unto you: but the French king lying in his campe, sent secretly into England a privy person, a very witty man, to entreat of a peace betweene the king of Fraunce, and our soveraigne lord. This person was named John Jokin [3], who was kept as secretly

What the opinion of the emperor was, may be judged by the indignant answer which he returned to Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux Herald, who, in Jan. 1528, carried Henry's defiance to him. Charles sums up Wolsey's conduct for two or three years, and adds: "en ce cas auroit plus juste cause sa majesté de faire la guerre au dit roy vostre dit maistre, quelle foy, quelle religion, quelle conscience, quel honneur il auroit devant ses yeulx, et donneroit assez à cognoistre l'intention qu'il auroit eu de bailler sa fille en mariage à sa majesté, s'il tendoit à la faire bastarde, combien que sa majesté ne peult, comme est dit, bien croire qu'il se laissast conduire à chose de si mauvaise exemple, *s'il n'estoit par sinistre ou mauvaise information du cardinal d'York, lequel, par son ambition et cupidité, et pour ce que sa majesté n'a voulu employer son armée d'Italie à faire le dit cardinal pape par force, comme luy avoit fait requérir par lettres de sa main, ny satisfere à son orgueil, ambition et convoitise, s'est plusieurs fois vanté qu'il mettroit les affaires de sa majesté en tel brouillis, qu'il ne fut veu telle brouillerie en cent ans, et le brouilleroit de sorte qu'il s'en repentiroit, encoires que le royaume d'Angleterre se deust perdre*, que se ainsi estoit que le dit roy se laissast conduire à croire le mauvais conseil du dit Cardinal, ce seroit le vray chemin pour y parvenir, et seroit le vray brouillis qu'il y avoit mis, qu'il ne sauroit après appaiser. Et par toutes les justifications avant dictes, lesquelles Dieu, qui est le juste juge et cognoist les cueurs d'hommes, pourra myeulx considerer que les aultres, et espere sa majesté que la divine clemence ne luy fauldra à sa justice et à la defension de sa juste cause, comme a fait du passé: et puis qu'il cognoist ceux qui ont bonne inclination à la paix, ne fait à doubter que en son temps il le baillera à ceux qu'ils seront de bonne voulunté; et proteste sa majesté devant Dieu et tout le monde que tous les maulx, dommages et interests que des dites guerres se pourront ensuyr, soient à la coulpe et charge de qui en est cause." Le Grand, iii. 45.

[3] *John Jokin.*] Of Giovanni Gioacchino de' signori di Passano very little is as yet known by English writers, although the transactions in which he was engaged are of importance to our history. There is no doubt that he was a great agent in the change of Wolsey's policy, and that he was the means of much secret communication between the cardinal and Francis, as well as

as might be, no man having intelligence of his repaire; for he was no French-man borne, but an Italian, a man of no great

between the cardinal and Louise of Angoulême, Francis' mother. So far from being a mere adventurer, G. G. di Passano was the head of a noble family of Genoa, various members of which had filled high offices in that republic. In 1512 he himself had been engaged by the state to negotiate a reconciliation between Pope Julius II. and the duke of Urbino; and soon after, when Ottaviano Fregoso was made doge of Genoa, Passano was nominated captain general of the galleys. He was then sent to Rome to forward the elevation of Innocenzo Cibo to the purple, and by the pope he was appointed captain of the papal galleys. He was taken prisoner in an engagement with the Turks, and thereby lost both of his naval commands. On his liberation he was employed in a military capacity, and took the fortress *della Lanterna* at Genoa, which had been built by Louis XII. to overawe the city. He afterwards distinguished himself, under that monarch, in the campaign of 1515, having, with 4000 men under his command, besieged and taken Alessandria. In 1516 and 1518 he entered into politics, being sent by the republic of Genoa as ambassador to Francis I., to justify their acquisitions in the war. His negotiations during this period of his life have been printed at Casale. He gave great satisfaction to Francis, who conferred on him the barony of Vaux in Dauphiny (which was afterwards erected into a marquisate for his son), and also gave him an augmentation to his arms, viz. Azure a lion crowned, and in chief three fleurs de lis, or. Francis invariably addressed him by the title of *Sieur de Vaulx*. Another change soon took place in Passano's fortunes; for the Adorni obtained the chief power in Genoa, Fregoso was deposed from the ducal dignity and imprisoned; and, consequently, Passano's functions in France ceased. He was, however, taken into Francis' own service, made master of the household to Louise of Savoy, the king's mother, and "sent secretly into England," and as a "merchant-man," in the latter part of 1524, to make Wolsey "*more French*," and to work in favor of Francis, then about to invade Italy. On his return to France he was appointed commissary-general, and he was on his way to the army in Italy, when he was detained at Lyons by Louise: whilst he was there, the battle of Pavia took place. Passano was again sent secretly to England, and as on his own account, by Louise, regent of France during her son's captivity. He succeeded in his negotiations with Wolsey, and Brinon was sent to join him, in June, when Passano assumed his proper character as an accredited envoy. The treaty of the Moore was concluded on the 30th August, 1525. Passano did not then

estimation in France, or knowne to be much in his master's favor, but to be a merchant-man, and for his subtil wit elected to intreat of suche embassage as the French king had given him in commission. This Jokin was secretly conveyed unto Richmond, and there remained till the cardinall resorted thither unto him, where, after Easter term was ended, he kept his feast of Whitsontide[4] very solemnely. In which season my lord cardinall caused divers times this Jokin to dine with him, who seemed to be bothe witty, and of good behaviour. Thus continued this Jokin in England long after, until at laste, as it should seeme, he had brought to passe[5] the matter he had in commission. After

stay long in England, but he was accredited anew in March, 1526, and he remained until, in conjunction with Gramont (bishop of Tarbes), Turenne, and Le Viste, he had concluded the treaty of the 30th April, 1527. He then returned to France, and was one of the negotiators with Wolsey for the treaty of Amiens, in August, 1527. Later in that year, whilst Lautrec (Odêt de Foix) was in command of the French forces in Italy, Passano was sent, as Francis' commissioner, to the pope, and was created count of Carinola. After much employ in Italy, where he declined to accept a cardinal's hat, which is said to have been asked for him both by Henry and Francis, he was again accredited in February, 1530, as ambassador to England, where he remained till 1534, when he finally returned to France. The city of Genoa, to which he had been a great benefactor, erected a statue to him in his life time, and high testimonies of honor were paid to him by others. He died in 1551, aged 86.

[4] *Whitsontide.*] Easter-day was April 16th, Whitsunday June 4th, 1525.

[5] *Brought to passe.*] Embodied in six treaties, signed on the 30th August, 1525, at the Moore, near Rickmansworth, where Wolsey then resided, by Jean Brinon, seigneur de Villaynes, premier president of the parliament of Rouen, and G. G. de Passano, seigneur de Vaux, on the part of the regent of France, Louise of Savoy; and by Wolsey, Norfolk, and others, on the part of Henry. These treaties were ratified by Francis on the 27th December. A private article, dated 18th November, 1525, bound the regent to pay to Wolsey the arrears of the pension of 12,000 frs., assigned to him in 1518, as indemnity for the loss of the bishopric of Tournay, and, in addition, the sum of 100,000 crowns of gold "for great and reasonable causes."

this there was sent out immediately restraint unto sir John Russell[6], into those partes where he made his abiding beyound the seas, that he should retaine that monthes wages still in his handes, (untill the king's pleasure were to him knowen) which should have bin paide unto the duke of Burbon, being then with his retinue encamped within the towne of Pavia; for want whereof at his day, the duke and his men were sore dismaide, when they sawe there was not money brought, as it was wont to be. And being in so dangerous a case, and where victuals began to be scant, and very deare, they imagined many waies what should be the lett. Some sayd this, and some sayd that; so that they mistrusted nothing lesse than the very cause thereof. In so much as at the last, what for want of victualls and other necessaries, which they could not get within the towne, the souldiers and captaines began to grudge and mutter; and at the last, for lack of victualls, were like all to perish.

The souldiers, being in this extremity, came before the captaine, the duke of Bourbonn, and saide, "Sir, we must be, of very force and necessity, constrained to yield us up to our enemies. And better it were for us so to doe, than to starve like dogges." When the duke sawe their extremities, he said unto them with weeping eyes, "Sirs," quoth he, "ye are bothe valiant men and of noble heartes, who have served me here right worthily. And for your necessity, whereof I am participant, I doe not a little lament it. But I shall desire you, as ye are noble in heart and courage, so to take pacyence for a day or twaine; and if succour come not then from the king of England, as I doubt nothing that he will deceive us, I will well agree, that we shall all put ourselves

[6] *Russell.*] See a long letter from Russell to Henry VIII. in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, vol. i. p. 297.

and our lives into the mercy of our enemies:" wherewith they were all agreeable. And tarrying and expecting the coming of the king's money, untill the terme of two daies was past, the duke seeing no remedy, called his noble captaines and souldiours before him, and weeping saide, "Ye noble men and companions, I see no remedy in this necessity, but either we must yield us unto our enemies, or else famishe. And to yeald the towne and ourselves, I know well the misery of our enemies. As for my part I passe not for their cruelties, for I knowe very well I shall suffer death most cruelly, if I come once in their hands. It is not for my selfe therefore that I doe lament; but it is for your sakes; it is for your own lives, and safeguard of your persons. For so that ye might escape the daunger of enemies hands, I would gladly suffer death. Therefore, good companions and noble souldiors, I shall require you all, considering the dangerous misery and calamity that we stand in at this present, to sell our lives most dearely, rather than to be murdered like beastes. If ye will be agreeable, we will take upon us this night to give our enemies an assault, and by that meanes we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow. And thus it were better to die in the field like men, than to live as prisoners in captivity and misery." To the which they all agreed.

Then quoth the duke, "Ye perceive that our enemies campe is stronge, and that there is no way to enter upon them but one, and that entery is so planted with great ordinance, and strength of men, that it is not possible to attaine to our enemies that way to fight with them in their campe. And also, now of late ye perceive they have had but small doubt of us, insomuch that they have kept but very slender watch. Therefore my device shall be

this. There shall issue out of the towne, about the dead time of the night, from us a nomber of you that be of the most likeliest to assault their campe; and they shall give the assault right secretly, even directly against the place of the entry, which is very stronge and invincible. Your force and valiant assault shall be to them of the campe so doubtfull, that they will torne their strength of the entry that lyeth over against your assault, to beate you from your purpose. Then will I issue out of the posterne gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, or they be ware, will I enter and fight with them in their campe, and winne their ordinance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own pieces. And then may you come and joine with me in the field." This device pleased them wondrously well. Then prepared they all that day for the purposed device, and kept them secret and close, without any noise or shot of pieces in the towne, which gave their enemies the lesse feare of the assault, but at night went to their tentes, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting that which after happened to them.

When the time came that all men were at rest, the assailants issued out of the towne, and there, according to their appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce assault, that they in the campe had as much to doe as was possible to resist them; and even as the duke declared before to his souldiers, they within were compelled to turne their shot, that lay at the entry, against the assailants. With that issued out the duke, and with him about fifteen or sixteen thousand men or more, secretly in the night, his enemies being not privy of his coming until he was entered the field. And at his entry he took all the ordinance that lay there, and slew the gunners. Then he charged the

pieces against his enemies, and slew them wonderfully. He cut down the tents and pavilions, and murdered many within them, or they were ware of his coming, suspecting nothing lesse than his entry; so that he won the field or ever the king could arise to the rescue; insomuch as the king was taken in his lodging or ever he was harnessed. And when the duke had obtained the field, and the French king was taken, and his men slaine, his tents were robbed and spoiled, which were wonderous riche. And in the spoile, and search of the king's coffers, the duke Bourbonn found the league[7], under the great seale of England, newly made betweene the king of England and the French king: which once perceived by him, he began to smell the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the king. Having upon the due search of the matter further intelligence, that all the matter was devised by the cardinall of England, the duke conceived such an indignation hereupon against the cardinall, that he went incontinent unto Rome, and there intended to sack the towne, and to have taken the pope: where, at the first assault of the walles, the duke was the first man that was there slaine[8]. Yet, notwithstanding his captaines continued their assault, and at the last the towne was taken, and the pope fled unto the castle of Angell, where he continued long in calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the cardinall was the chiefest occasion of all this mischief. Wherefore ye may perceive that whatsoever a man doeth

[7] *The league.*] No *league* existed in February, 1525, but it is very probable, nay evident, that Bourbon found proofs of Passano's intrigues with Wolsey on behalf of Francis, which began in the autumn of 1524.

[8] *Slaine.*] Benvenuto Cellini says that his hand fired the shot which killed the duke, 6th of May, 1527. Between the battle of Pavia and the taking of Rome more than two years had elapsed. Memoirs, transl. by Nugent, i. 120.

purpose, be he prince or prelate, yet notwithstanding God disposeth all things at his will and pleasure. Wherefore it is great folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprize at his owne wit, without calling upon God for his grace and assurance in all his doings and proceedings.

I have seen that princes when they would either call a parliament, or any other great assembly, that they would first most reverently call to God for his grace therein. And now I see the contrary. As it seems they trust more to their owne wit and will, than they doe to God's grace, and even thereafter doe their matters often times take successe; whereof not only in this history, but also in divers others may be perceived right evident examples. And yet I see no man almost in authority or high estate regarde the same; the which is the greater pity, and the more to be lamented.—Nowe here I leave to shew any more of this matter, and will procede to others.

Upon the taking of the French king [9] many consultations and divers opinions were then devised among the council. Some held opinion that if the king our soveraigne lorde would invade the realme of France, he might easily conquer the same [1], insomuch as

[9] *The French king.*] The battle of Pavia was fought Feb. 24, 1525.

[1] *Conquer the same.*] "I have heard that when the people be commanded to make fires and tokens of joy for the taking of the French king, divers of them have spoken that they have more cause to weep than to rejoice thereat. And divers, as it hath been shewn me secretly, have wished openly that the French king were at his liberty again, so as there were a good peace, and the king should not attempt to win France, the winning whereof should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning. Also it hath been told me secretly, that divers have recounted and repeated what infinite sums of money the king's grace hath spent already in invading France, once in his own royal person, and two other sundry times by his several noble captains, and little or nothing in comparison of his costs hath prevailed; insomuch that the king's grace at this hour

the king with the most part of the nobility of Fraunce were in captivity. Some sayd againe that the king our master ought to have had the French king prisoner, for as much as he was taken by the kings champion and generall captaine the duke of Burbonn, and not the emperor. So that the same moved the king to take an occasion of war against the emperor, because he kept the French king out of his possession, with divers other imaginations and devices, even as their fantasies served them, which were too long here to be rehearsed: but I leave it to the chroniclers that write stories.

Thus were they in long consultations, whereof every man in the courte had talked as their fantasies served them; untill at the last it was devised, by meanes of divers ambassadors[2] sent from the realmes of Fraunce unto the king our soveraigne lord, to take order with the emperor for the French kings deliverance, as his high wisdome could think best, wherein my lord cardinall bare a great stroke; so that after longe deliberation and advice

hath not one foot of land more in France than his most noble father had, which lacked no riches or wisdom to win the kingdom of France, if he had thought it expedient." Archbishop Warham to Wolsey, in Hallam's *Const. Hist of England*, i. 21. (4to. ed.)

[2] *Ambassadors.*] Jean Brinon and Giov. Gioach. di Passano concluded the treaties of 30th Aug. 1525 (see p. 66). The next treaty, concluded 30th April, 1527, was the result of a special mission from Francis, consisting of Gabriel de Gramont, bishop of Tarbes, François de la Tour, vicomte de Turenne, Antoine le Viste, premier president of the parliament of Paris, and G. G. di Passano. The chief negociator was Gramont, who, according to Henry VIII.'s own statement, first, and at this time, infused doubts into his mind of the validity of his marriage with Katharine, by questioning the legitimacy of Mary. Gramont's letters, some of which may be seen in Le Grand, are in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, at Paris. An account of the embassy, written by Claude Dodieu, seigneur de Vely, secretary to the ambassadors, is preserved in the British Museum.

taken in this matter, it was thought good by my lord cardinall, that the emperor should deliver the French king out of his warde upon sufficient pledges. Then was it, upon his advice, thought meete that the kings two sonnes, that is to say, the Dolphin [3] and the duke Orleance, should be delivered in hostage for the king their father; which was in conclusion brought to passe.

After the kings delivery out of the emperors bondage [4], and

[3] *Dolphin*, &c.] Francis, the dauphin, who was poisoned by Montecuculli in 1536, and Henry, duke of Orléans (who was afterwards Henry II.). On the death of his elder brother Francis, Henry became dauphin, and the dukedom of Orléans devolved upon Charles, duke of Angoulême.

[4] *Out of the emperors bondage.*] He entered his own territories 17th of March, 1526. The arrival of Francis is thus described in a letter from Dr. John Taylor, then ambassador in France, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Bayonne, 18th of March, 1526. "Please it your grace to understand that the xv day of March, very late in the evening by torch-light, my Lady Regent came into Bayonne, and was received with great triumph of gunshot. On the morrow after dinner I spake with her, and she desired me to have patience for ii or iii days, she was in such great anxiety for the sending forth of the dauphin and his brother, and for great desire to see the king her son, that she could attend to no other thing. But she assured me that as soon as the king was come, Mons. Joachyn should be despatched into England. The xvii day the dauphin and his brother were delivered into the hands of the Spaniards upon a bridge upon the river, called Andaye, betwixt Fontarabia and St. Jean de Luz, and betwixt ii and iii of the clock the same day the king was received into Bayonne with much shot of ordnance. Without the town a quarter of a mile I was accompanied with the chancellor (Du Prat) and many other spiritual men, by the command of my lady, and there abode the coming of the king; and after that the chancellor had saluted the king, he shewed to him that I was the orator of England, the king took me in his arms, whom I saluted in this manner: '*Christianissime rex, ex parte serenissimi regis Angliæ, defensoris fidei, domini mei potentissimi, ego congratulor tuæ majestati in suum regnum salvo reditui; plura dicturus loco et tempore magis opportunis.*' His grace, with very favorable countenance, said how he would more at large speak with me, and he would never forget the goodness that he had found in the king's highness."—Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 331. The orthography is here modernized.

his sonnes received in hostage for the emperors and the kings our soveraigne lordes security of all such demaunds and requestes as should be demaunded of the French king, as well as by the emperor as our soveraigne lorde, the cardinall, lamenting the French kings calamity, and the popes great adversity, who yet remained in the castle Angell, either as a prisoner or else for his defence against his enemies, travailed all that he could [5] with the king and his council to take some order for the quietness of them bothe. (At laste, as ye have hearde here before, how divers of the great estates and lordes of the council, with my lady Anne lay but in a-wait to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the cardinall in a brake, they thought it now a necessary time to cause him to take upon him the kings commission to travell beyond the seas in this matter, and by his high wit to compasse a perfect peace among these great princes and potentates; and encouraging him thereunto alleged, that it was more meete for his high wit, discretion and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to passe, than any other man within this realme. Their intent was none other but, if they might, to get him from the king out of the realme; then might they sufficiently adventure, by the helpe of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the

[5] *Travailed all that he could.*] These intrigues, in which the cardinal bore so large a part, did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours even then had begun to make our diplomatic inferiority the subject of their sport and ridicule. William Tindall, in his *Practice of Popish Prelates*, referring to these events, tells us, "The Frenchmen of late dayes made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperour daunsed with the pope and the French king, and weried them, the king of England sitting on a hye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he daunsed not, it was answered, that he sate there, *but to pay the minstrels their wages onely:* as who should say, wee paid for all mens dauncing."—Tindall's *Works*, p. 375. A.D. 1572.

kings highness, and so in his absence to bring him in displeasure with the king, or at the least to be of lesse estimation.—Well! what will you have more? This matter was so handled that the cardinall was commanded to prepare himselfe to this journey[6]; which he toke upon him; but whether it were with his good will or no, I am not able well to tell you. But this I knowe, that he made a short abode, after the perfect resolution thereof, but caused all things to be prepared onward toward his journey. And every one of his servants were appointed that should attend upon him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and for this noble ambassage provided and furnished, then was there no more to doe but avaunce forwardes[7] in the name of God. My lord had with him such of the lordes and bishoppes and other worthy persons as were not of the counsel or conspiracy.

Then marched he forwarde from his owne house at Westminster through all London, over London Bridge, having before him a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank with velvet coates, and the most part of them with great chaines of gold about their neckes. And all his yeomen followed him with noblemens and gentlemens servaunts, all in orange tawny coates, with the cardinalls hat, and a T and a C, for Thomas Cardinall, imbrodered upon all the coates, as well of his owne servauntes, as all the rest of his gentlemens servauntes: and his sumpter mules, which were twentie or more in number. And when all his

[6] *To prepare himselfe to this journey.*] The instructions to Wolsey, who was formally appointed ambassador extraordinary to France on the 18th of June, are printed in the "State Papers," vol. i. p. 191, and are followed by much of the correspondence which took place during his mission.

[7] *Avaunce forwardes.*] He took leave of the king, July 3, 1527. Herbert, p. 205.

carriages and cartes and other of his traine were passed before, he rode like a cardinall very sumptuously with the rest of his traine, on his owne mule, with his spare mule and spare horse, trapped in crimson, velvet upon velvet, and gilt stirrups, following him. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, his two great pillars of silver, the kings broad seale of England, and his cardinalls hat, and a gentleman carrying his *valence* (otherwise called his cloak bag) which was made of fine scarlet, altogether embrodered very richly with gold, having in it a cloake. Thus passed he forth through London; as I said before; and everie day on his journey he was thus furnished, having his harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodging for him and his traine.

The first journey that he made was two miles beyond Dartford in Kent, unto Sir Richard Wilshires house[8]; and the rest of

[8] *Sir Richard Wilshires house.*] Who had been comptroller of Calais. His house, Stone Place, was seventeen miles from London, two miles beyond Dartford, and near Greenhithe. Wolsey slept there on the night of Wednesday, July 3, and he was met by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, "with whom," he writes to Henry, "after communication had of your secrete matier, and such other thinges as have been hitherto doon therein, I shewed him howe the knowleage therof is cumme to the Quenes Grace, and howe displeasantly she takith it, and what your Highnes hath doon for the staying and pacification of her; . . . . and soo proceding further with him in communication, I have sufficiently instructed him how he shall ordre himself, in case the Quene doo demaunde his counsail in the said matier: which myn advertisement he doth not oonly like, but also hath promised me to folowe the same accordingly." On the Thursday he lodged at Rochester, where he was entertained in the palace by bishop Fisher, with whom also he had a long conference. On Friday, the 5th, he arrived at Feversham, having given audience on the way to Hieronymus, count of Lasko, envoy from the Waywode, John of Zapolia, who claimed the throne of Hungary after the death of his brother-in-law, Louis II., and was opposed by the Palatine Stephen Bathori on the part of Ferdinand of Austria. The Waywode, in order to

his traine were lodged at Dartford, and in the country thereabouts. The next day he marched to Rochester, where he was lodged in the bishoppes pallace, and the rest of his traine were lodged in the citty, and in Stroud on this side of the bridge. The third day he rode from thence to Fevershame, and there was lodged in the abbey, and his traine in the towne there, and some in the country there abouts. The fourth day he rode to Canterbury, where he was encountred with the worshipful of the towne, and country, and lodged in the abbey of Christ-churche in the priors lodging. And all his traine were lodged in the city, where he continued three or foure daies; in which season there was the jubilee, and a great faire in the towne, by the reason it was the feast of St. Thomas their patron. At which very day in the same abbey there was a solemne procession, wherein my lord cardinall then went, apparelled in his legantine ornaments with his hat upon his head: who commanded the monkes and the quier to sing to litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente*, and in this manner perused the litany throughe, my lord cardinall kneeling at a stool before the quier dore, prepared for him with carpets and qusshions. All the while the monks and their quier stoode in the body of the churche singing this litany. At which time I sawe my lord cardinall weepe tenderly, which as I and other tooke it, was for the heaviness to see the pope in such calamity and danger of the launce knightes [9].

strengthen his position, wished to marry Renée of France, the sister-in-law of Francis. On Saturday, the 6th, Wolsey went to Canterbury, which he left on the 9th for Dover. He arrived at Calais on Thursday the 11th. Wolsey's journey for Henry VII. to Maximilian was made rather more rapidly.

[9] *Launce knightes.*] *Lanzen-Knechte*, the German men-at-arms, called by the French *Lansquenets*.

The next day I was sent with letters from my lord cardinall unto Callice in post, insomuch as I was that same night at Callice. And at my arrival I found standing upon the piere, without the lanterne gate [1], all the council of the towne, to whom I declared my message, and delivered my letters or I entered the towne, where I lay till my lord came there, who arrived in the haven [2] two daies after my coming, before eight of the clocke in the morning; who was received with all the noble officers and council of the towne, the mayor of the towne, and the mayor of the staple in procession, the clerkes being in rich copes, and having many riche crosses. And in the lanterne gate a stool with carpets and qusshions was set for him, whereat he kneeled, and made his praiers. All which time they censed him with great censers of silver, and sprinkled holy water. That done they passed on before him in procession untill he came to St. Maries churche, where at the high altar, tourning him to the people, he gave them benediction and pardon. And then he repaired with a great nomber of noblemen and gentlemen, being peeres of the towne, unto a place called the Checquor [4], where he lay after and

[1] *Without the lanterne gate.*] The principal entrance from the harbour. The modern gate, immortalised by Hogarth, was built about 1630 by D'Argencour, the engineer, who was employed in cardinal Richelieu's time, when the new *enceinte* was made. The "Lanthern" was a common appellation given to one of the gates or towers of a place. We have noticed it at Genoa (see p. 65, note): in the Tower of London, one of the towers still retains that name.

[2] *In the haven.*] July 11, 1527. Herbert, 205.

[4] *The Checquor.*] The Exchequer at Calais was a very extensive building, and had been fitted up a few years before, in 1520, for the reception of Henry VIII., with his queen Katharine, and Francis I., previous to the meeting at the field of the Cloth of Gold. A very large plan of "Theschaker," as thus prepared, is in the British Museum. No vestiges of the building now exist.

kept his house, as long as he abode in the towne: going immediately to his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness upon his passage upon the seas.

That night unto this place called he unto him Mons. de Bees [5], captaine then of Bullen, with a number of other gallant gentlemen who dined with him; and after some consultation with my lord cardinall, he with the rest of the gentlemen departed againe to Bullen. Thus my lord was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

Then when all his traine and his carryage was landed, and every thing prepared for his journey, his grace called all his noblemen and gentlemen, being servants, unto him into his privy chamber; where they being all assembled before him, he saide: "I have called you hither to the intent to declare unto you, that I consider the duty ye bear unto me, and the good will that I semblably beare unto you for the same, seeing your intendment to further the authority that I have by commission; which your diligent service I will have hereafter remember, and therefore I meane to declare the same directly unto the king; *secondly*, to shew you the nature of the French men; and *thirdly*, to shewe you how, and with what reverence ye shall use me for the high honor of the kings majesty, and then, to inform you howe ye shall entertaine and accompany the French men, when ye shall meet at any time. To the *first* point, ye shall understand that the kings majestie, for certaine weighty affairs of his graces, hath for more advauncement of his royal dignity, assigned me to be in this journey his lieutenant; and what reverence belongeth to the same I will tell you. For my parte I must, by virtue of my commission

[5] *Mons. de Bees.*] Oudard du Bies, afterwards a marshal of France.

and of lieutenantship, assume and take upon me, to be esteemed in all honors and degrees of service, as to his highness' presence is meete and due; and that by me nothing be neglected, that to his royal estate is due and appurtenant. And for my parte ye shall see, that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, because that ye should not be ignorant of your duty in this case, is one of the chief causes of this your assembly, willing you as you will have my favor, and also charging you all in the kings name, that ye doe not forget the same in time and place, but that every one of you do observe your duty to mee accordingly, as ye will at your returne avoide the king's indignation, or obtaine and deserve his highness' thanks, the which I will set forth, as each of you shall deserve.

"Nowe to the *second* pointe: The nature of Frenchmen is suche, that at the first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as they had bine acquainted with you long before, and common with you in their French tongue[6], as though you understoode

[6] *In their French tongue.*] The reader, probably, will be amused with the following anecdote (from a very scarce book), sufficiently illustrative of the present discourse of the cardinal, and, at the same time, very characteristic of the noble old English spirit of a veteran warrior, of the genuine blood of the Talbots. It was unquestionably the same George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, of whom Cavendish speaks, and who was born in 1471, and died in 1541, æt. 70. Who the French ambassador was, is uncertain, but it probably was Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, in 1533; at the last attempt to reconcile Henry with Clement VII. Lord Shrewsbury would then be 62. In 1518 the admiral Bonnivet had brought letters from Leo X., but the anecdote would not suit him, nor would the "greate age" suit the earl of Shrewsbury, who was then only 47.

"I will tell you a tale by the waie which I heard of as wise a manne as ever ye be like to be, for ought that ye have yet uttered, and as naturall a manne to his countree of Englande in *deede*, as ye bragge to be in *wordes*, which stoode not full twentie foote off, when the matter was firste spoken and uttered. ["It

every worde; therefore use them in like manner, and be as familiar with them as they be with you. If they speake in their



'It chaunced that there came a French ambassadour to the kynges highnesse, kyng Henry the eight, (I truste God hath his soule!) with letters, I trowe, from the French kyng, not long before that, sent to hym from the holy father of Rome. This ambassadour sitting at the counsaile table beganne to sette up a stoute countenaunce, with a weake braine, and carped French excedingly fast, which he thought should have been his onely sufficient commendation of them all that were at the table, that he could speake so readily. The matter of his talke was universall every where. But the substaunce was partly much noting the gluttonie of Englishmen, which devoured so much vitaile in the lande; partly, magnifying the greate utilitee and necessitee of the French tongue, which he noted to be almoste throughout the world frequented. And in his conference, he marveiled of diverse noble men that were present, for that they could not keepe him talke, or yet could not so much as understande hym, to perceive his gaie witte. Among the number of Lordes there, satte the old honourable capitain the Lorde Erle of Shrowesburie, lookyng at his meate, and gave neither eare nor countenaunce to this jolie man, but gave other leave to talke, and sat, as he might, shakyng heade and hands in his palsey, whiche was testimonie enough whether he were not in his daies a warriour lying abrode in the fielde to take aire of the ground. This Frenche ambassadour was offended with hym, and said, 'What an honour were it for yonder olde noble man if he coulde speake the Frenche tongue; surely it is a greate lacke to his nobilitie.' One of the lordes that kept hym talke, asking firste leave of this *mon sire* to report part of the communication to the Lorde Shrewesburie, made reporte thereof; yet in most courteous maner, with easie and favorable rehearsal, as might touch a truth.

'When he heard it, where before his head by greate age was almoste gravelyng on the table, he roused hym self up in suche wise that he appeared in length of bodie as much as he was thought ever in all his life before. And knittyng his browes, he laid his hande on his dagger, and set his countenaunce in suche sort that the French hardie ambassadour tourned coloure wonderfully. 'Saieth the Frenche whoreson so,' saieth he, 'Marie tell the French dogge againe, by sweete sainct Cuthbert, if I knewe that I had but one pestilente French woorde in all my bodie, I would take my dagger and digge it out before I rose from the table. And tell that tawnie whoreson againe, howsoever he hath been hunger starved hym self at home in Fraunce, that if

naturall tongue, speake you againe to them in the Englishe tongue, for if you understande not them no more shall they understande you." And speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen there, being a Welshman, he saide, "Riche," quoth he, "speake thou Welche to him, and I doubt not but thy speache shall be more diffuse[7] to him than his Frenche shall be to thee: and thus," quoth he againe to us all, "let all your enterteinement and behaviour be according to the order of all gentleness and humanity, that ye may be reported, after our departure from hence, that ye be gentlemen of right good behaviour, and of much gentleness, and that ye are men who knowe the duties to your soveraigne lorde, and to your master, esteeming much your great reverence. Thus shall ye not only obtaine to yourselves great commendation and praise for the same, but also advaunce the honor of your prince and country.

"Nowe goe your waies being admonished of all these pointes, and prepare yourselves against tomorrow, for then we intend, God willing, to set forward." And we his servauntes, being thus by him instructed and informed, departed every man to his lodging,

we should not eate our beastes and make vitaile of them as faste as we doe, they would so encrease beyond measure, that thei would make vitaile of us and eate us up.'

"When these woordes were repeated again to this French gest, he spoiled no more vittaile at the dinner after that, but dranke wonderous oft. Whiche whether it was his countenaunce, because he had left talkyng, or whether because he was inwardly drie, the reporter of this tale could tell me no further; but saied that his eye was never off hym, all that dinner while after." *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 127—9. 4to. black letter.

[7] *More diffuse.*] "*Cook.* Then answere me, What sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

"*Jackson.* I answered; it is a *diffuse* question, to aske me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 1769. See also p. 1574, "*diffuse* and *difficult*."

making against the next day all things in a readinesse to avaunce forward with my lord cardinall.

The next morning [8], being Mary Magdalens day, all things furnished, my lord cardinall advaunced out of Callaise with such a number of black velvet coates as hath bin seldom sene with an ambassador. All the peeres of Calaise and Guines, with all other gentlemen, besides his traine, being garnished in black velvet coates and chaines of gold.

Thus passed he forward with his traine of gentlemen before him three in a ranke, which by supposall endured three quarters of a mile or more in length, having his crosses, and all other his accustomed and glorious furniture carried before him, even as I have before rehearsed, except the broade seale [9], the which he left

[8] *The next morning.*] Wolsey arrived at Calais, as we have seen, on Thursday the 11th of July: he remained there until Monday, Mary Magdalen's day, the 22nd, when he went to Boulogne; on the 23rd he went to Montreuil, and on the 24th to Abbeville. He stayed at Abbeville until Saturday the 3rd of August, when he proceeded to Picquigny, and on the 4th to Amiens. He was at Amiens for a month: on the 5th September he was at Compiegne, where he remained until Tuesday the 17th. On the 21st he was at Boulogne. He arrived at court, on the 30th Sept., at Allington. His despatches to Henry, during his residence in France, will be found in the "State Papers," vol. i. pp. 235—279.

[9] *Except the broade seale.*] In his former embassy Wolsey carried with him the great seal:

"In the reign of Henry the Eighth the Lord Chancellor appears to have taken the great seal with him wherever he went, even when he quitted the realm: but he seems to have possessed the power of entrusting it to another person for a temporary purpose. Thus, secretary Pace informed Lord Chancellor Wolsey, who was at Calais in October, 1521, that the king said Trinity term might be kept, if he would send home the master of the rolls with the great seal for that purpose. (*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 70.) It being, however, determined to adjourn the term, in case the plague continued, the necessary writs were sent to Wolsey, to be sealed and returned to the king. (*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 76.)"—Sir Harris Nicolas's *Remarks on the Great Seal*, pre-

in Callaise with master doctor Tailor [1], then master of the rolles, untill his returne. Passing thus on his way, and being scantly ridden a mile, it begane to raine so vehemently, that I have not seene the like for the time; which endured untill we came to Bullen; and ere we came unto Sandingfield, the cardinall of Loraine [2], a goodly young gentleman, encountered my lord, and received him with great joye, and reverence, and so passed forthe with my lorde, in communication, until we came nighe unto the saide Sandingfield, which is a place of religion standing betweene the Englishe, Frenche, and Emperor's dominions, being a neuter, holding of neither of them. There awaited for him Le County Bryan [3], capitaine of Picardie, with a great number of Stradiates or Arbenois [4], standing in aray, in a great piece of green oates, all

fixed to the *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. Mr. Singer would seem therefore to be in error, when he says that it was a violation of the laws to carry the great seal out of the king's dominions.

[1] *Tailor.*] Dr. John Taylor, archdeacon of Buckingham, who himself was employed by Henry in political negotiations.

[2] *Loraine.*] See note at p. 90.

[3] *Le County Bryan.*] Philippe Chabot, count of Charny and Buzançois, seigneur de Brion, by which last name he was chiefly known. He was afterwards governor of Burgundy and Normandy, and admiral of France. He was at the battle of Pavia, was ambassador in England, and made a Knight of the Garter, at Boulogne, in 1532. He died in 1543. His father was the count of Jarnac, and the family name and title still exist. In 1525, after the battle of Pavia, he, with François de Tournon, archbishop of Embrun, and Jean de Selve, premier president of the parliament of Paris, had been sent by Louise, the regent, to Spain, to treat for the liberation of Francis.

The copy of the statutes of the Garter which was sent to him, passed into the possession of the ducs de Montmorency; from them it was inherited by the princes de Condé, and it is now in the collection of the duc d'Aumale.

[4] *Stradiates or Arbenois.*] *Stradiates*, from the Italian, *stradiotto* (στρατιώτης), a hired soldier; a Greek mercenary.

Arbenois is the reading of both MSS., as Arbenoyes is of the York MS.: but the word is probably a corruption of Albanois, *Albanians*.

in harness, upon highe horses, passing on with my lord in a wing unto Bullen, and so after through Picardy; for my lord doubted some-what the emperor that he should lay some ambushment for to betray him; for which cause the French king commanded them to attend upon my lordes grace, for the assurance of his person, to conduct him without daunger of his enemies. Thus rode he accompanied untill he came nighe Bullen, within an English mile, where encountered him the worshipfullest citizens of the towne of Bullen, having a learned man, that made before him an oration in Latine, unto the which my lord semblably made an answer. And that done monsieur de Bees [5], capitaine of Bullen, with the retinue thereof gentlemen met with him on horseback; and then with all his assembly he rode into the towne, lighting at the abbey gate, and from thence he was conveied with procession streight into the abbey church there, and offered unto the image of our Lady, most commonly called our Lady of Bullen, where was allwaies great offering. And that done he gave thence his blessing to the people, with certaine daies of pardon [6]. Then went he

[5] *De Bees.*] See p. 79.

[6] *With certaine daies of pardon.*] In like manner, we saw, a little above, that at Calais he gave "benediction and pardon." From a letter to the cardinal, from Humfrey Monmouth, confined in the Tower on suspicion of heresy, we may gather what notion was entertained, even by comparatively enlightened men, of the efficacy of these pardons. "If I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent and confessed (I should be forgiven) by reason of certain pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted, whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holy father the pope, *a poena et a culpa*, for certain times in the year: and that, I trust in God, I received at Easter last past. Furthermore I received, when your grace was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of *a poena et a culpa:* the which I believe verily, if I had done never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgiveness." Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol i. p. 248. Appendix. The cardinal had also

into the abbey into his lodging, and all his traine were lodged within the highe and base townes.

The next morning, after he had heard masse, he rode unto *Muterell* (Montreuil) *sur la mer*, where he was in like case encountered with the worshipful of the towne, all in one like livery, having a learned man to make an oration unto him in Latine, whom he answered also againe in Latine; and as he entered in at the gate, there was a canopy made ready of silke embroidered with like letters and hat, even as his men had on their coates. And when that he was lighted his footemen had the same as a fee due to their office. Nowe was there made divers pageauntes for joy of his comming, who was called in the French tongue there, and in all other places through the realme, where he rode or came *Le Cardinall Pacifick*, and in Latine *Cardinalis Pacificus*, who was accompanied all that night with the gentlemen of the country there abouts.

The next day he tooke his journey towards Abbeville, where he was encountered with diverse gentlemen of the towne and country, and so conveied unto the towne, where he was most honorably received with pageantes of diverse kindes wittely and costly conveied at every turning of the streetes as he rode through the towne, having a like canopy borne over him, being of more richer sorte than the other was of Mutterell; and so brought him to his lodging, which was, as it seemed to be, a very fair house newly built with brick, and within was all in manner of galleries, notwithstanding it was faire and necessary. At which house the French kinge Lewis was married to the kings sister,

a bull granted by pope Leo Xth. A.D. 1518, to give in certain cases and conditions plenary remission from all sins.—Fiddes, p. 48. Appendix.

which was after married[7] to the duke of Suffolk. In this towne of Abbeville he remained more than eight or nine daies, where resorted unto him daily diverse of the French kings counsell, sitting with him in counsell every day, and continually feasting them, and others of the lordes and gentlemen highely, both at dinners and suppers.

Then when the time came of his departing out of the towne, he rode to a castle beyond the waters of Some, called the *Channel de Picgeny*[8] standing and adjoyning unto the saide water, upon a greate hille and rocke, within the which there was a colledge of priestes; the situation whereof was much like unto the castle of Windsor in England; and there he was received with a solemn procession conveying him first into the church, and after into the castell to his lodging. At this castell sometime[9] upon the bridge that goes over this water of Somme, King Edward the fourthe met with the French kinge, as ye may read at large in the chronicles of England.

When my lorde was settled in his lodging, I heard that the French king should come that day into Amiens, which was not past six English miles from thence; and being desirous to see his comming thither, I toke with me one or two of my lordes gentlemen, and rode thither incontinent, as well to furnish me

[7] *Married.*] In Oct. 1514. Louis was in his 53rd year, the princess Mary in her 16th year. Within three months Louis died, and three months afterwards the widowed queen was married to her first lover, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

[8] *Picgeny.*] Picquigny, near Amiens.

[9] *Sometime.*] On the 2nd of August 1475, Edward IV. and Louis XI. concluded, at Amiens, a treaty which they confirmed at Picquigny: they agreed on a truce for *seven* years; a marriage was arranged to take place between the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VIII.) and the princess Elizabeth of York (afterwards the queen of Henry VII.).

with a convenient lodging, as to see the kinge. And when we came thither, being but strangers, we tooke up our inne at the signe of the Angell, directly against the west door of the cathedrall church *de notre Dame.* After we had dined there, and tarried untill three or four of the clock, expecting the king's coming, in came the dame regent, the king's mother[1], riding in a very riche chariot; and with her therein was the queen of Navarre[2], her daughter, furnished with a hundred and more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon white palfreies; besides diverse and many ladies, some in riche horse litters, and some in chariots, who lighted at the next dore with all her traine of ladies and gentlewomen, besides her garde, which was not small in number. Then, within two houres after, the kinge came in with a great shot of gunnes and diverse pageants, made only for joye of his coming; having about his person and before him, besides

[1] *King's mother.*] Louise of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême. See p. 61.

[2] *Queen of Navarre.*] Margaret de Valois, daughter of Louise, and sister of Francis I. She was born in 1492, and, in 1509, married to the duc d'Alençon, who was killed in 1525 at the battle of Pavia, when Francis was taken prisoner. The loss of her husband did not prevent her going in the same year to Spain to plead with Charles for her brother's release. In this she was unsuccessful. On the 24th Jan. 1527, she was remarried, in her 35th year, to Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre. There can be no truth in what has been said by some, amongst whom is Fuller in his Church History, that it was proposed by Wolsey for her to marry Henry. It is probable however that some vague report was current as to Henry's dissatisfaction with his marriage, and that rumours were abroad as to another queen. Indeed some such supposition is necessary in order to reconcile conflicting statements. It has been seen that up to the time of this embassy, *several months after her second marriage,* the question of Henry's divorce had been scarcely broached. Margaret, the *Marguerite des Marguerites* of her brother Francis, is unfavorably known by her "*Heptameron*" and more favorably by her "*Miroir de l'âme pécheresse,*" which has been translated into English by queen Elizabeth. In the latter part of her life she was greatly attached to the reformation. She died 21 Dec. 1549.

the wonderfull number of noblemen and gentlemen, three great guardes apparailed diversely. The *first* was of Switzers and Burgonians with gunnes. The *second* was of Frenchmen, some with bowes and arrows, and some with billes. The *third* guarde *pour le corps*, was of talle Scots, which were more comlier persons than all the rest. The French guard, and the guard of the Scots had one livery, being apparailed with rich coates of white cloth, guarded with a rich guard of silver bullion of an handful broade. The king came riding on a goodly genet, and lighted at the saide great church, and so was conveied with procession into the bishopps pallace, where he was lodged, and also his mother.

The next morning I rode againe to Pickeney to attend upon my lorde, at which time of my resorte my lorde was ready to go to horseback towards Amiens; and passing on his way, he was encountered with diverse noble personnages, making unto him diverse orations in Latine, to whom he made answer againe *extempore*, which was very much. Then was worde brought him, that the kinge was coming to incounter him; wherefore he had none other shifte but to light at an old chappell, that stoode hard by the highe way, and there he new apparailed himselfe into richer apparaille, and so mounted againe upon a new mule very richly trapped, with a foote cloathe altogether of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with gold fringe very costly, his stirroups of silver and gilt, the bosses of the same, and the checkes of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold. And by that time that he was thus mounted againe after this gorgeous sorte, the kinge was come very near, within lesse than a quarter of an English mile, mustering upon an hill, his guarde standing in array upon the top of the same hill, expecting my lorde's coming; to whome my lorde made as much

haste as he conveniently might, untill he came within a paire of butt lengthes, and there staied. The king perceiving that, having two worthy young gentlemen with him, the one called Monsieur Vadamont, and the other Monsieur de Guise, bothe brethren to the cardinall of Loraine, and to the duke of Lorain also [3], being like apparailed as the king was, in purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, their coates cut, the king caused Monsieur Vadamont to issue from him, and ride to my lorde cardinall, to knowe the cause of his tarrying. And this monsieur, being mounted upon a faire great genet, tooke his race with his horse, untill he came even to my lorde; and there caused his horse to come aloft twise or thrise, so nighe my lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse: and with that he alighted, and doing humble reverence, did his message to my lorde; and that done, he mounted againe, and made his horse to doe the same at his departing as before he did at his coming, and soe repaired againe unto the king: and his aunswer ended to the king, the king advanced forwardes. That seeing, my lorde did the like, and in the mid way they met, embracing each other with amiable countenaunce and entertainement. Then drewe into the place all noblemen and gentlemen on bothe parties, with wonderful cheere made one to another, as though they had bine of an old acquaintance. The prease [4] was such and so thicke, that divers had their legges hurt with horses. Then the king's officers cried, "*Marche, marche, devaunt, alles de-*

[3] *To the duke of Lorain also.*] The four brethren were, Antoine, duke of Lorraine, who married Renée de Bourbon, and continued the line of the reigning dukes; Claude, duke of Guise, who married Antonie de Bourbon, and was the progenitor of that family which so long troubled France; John, cardinal of Lorraine, who died in 1550; Louis, count of Vaudemont, who was killed at the siege of Naples in 1528.

[4] *Prease.*] Press, crowd.

vaunt." And the king, and my lord cardinall on his right hand, rode forth towardes Amiens, every Englishe gentleman accompanied with an other of France. The traine of these two princes endured two longe English miles, that is to say from the place of their encountry unto Amiens; whereas they were very nobly received with shot of gunes and costly pageantes, until the king had brought my lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night, the king being lodged in the bishoppes palace. And the next day after dinner, my lord rode with a great traine of English gentlemen and noblemen unto the court to the king, at which time the king kept his bed, yet nevertheless my lord came into his bed chamber, where on the one side of his bed sate the king's mother, and on the other side the cardinall of Loraine, accompanied with divers other gentlemen and noblemen of France. And after a short communication, and drinking a cup of wine with the king's mother, my lorde departed, and retourned againe to his owne lodging, accompanied with diverse gentlemen and noblemen, where they supped with him. Thus continued my lorde and the king in Amiens for the space of two weekes and more, consulting and feasting each other diverse times. In Amiens then was the king and my lorde at masse, the which received bothe the sacrament. And upon our Ladies day the Assumption, my lorde saide masse before the Regent and queene of Navarre, and gave them the sacrament. And there the king dressed a number of sicke folkes[5].

Then it was determined that the king and my lorde should remove, and so they did, to a towne or citty called Campaigne,

[5] *Dressed a number of sicke folkes.*] The Assumption was 15th August, when Francis performed the usual ceremonies.

which was more than twenty [6] English miles from Amiens; unto the which towne I was sent to prepare my lord's lodging. And as I rode on my journey, being a Friday, my horse cast a shoe in a little village [7], where stode a faire castell. And as it chaunced there dwelt a smithe, to whome I commanded my servant to resorte, to shoe my horse, and standing bye while my horse was a shoeing, there came to me a servant of the castell, perceiving me to be an Englishman and one of my lorde legates servauntes (as they then called my lorde,) requiring me to goe into the castell to my lorde his master, who he thought would be very glad of my company. To whom I consented, because I was alwaies desirous to see and to be acquainted with strangers, and in especiall with men in authority, and of honourable estate, soe I went with him: who conducted me into the castell, and, at my first entry, I was among the watch men that kept the first warde, being very tall men and comely persons. They saluted me very reverently, and knowing the cause of my comming, desired me to stay myselfe untill they had advertised my lorde their master; and soe I did. And incontinent the lorde of the castell came out unto me, who was called Monsieur Croky [8], a nobleman born, and nighe of king Lewis's bloud, which was the last king before

[6] *Twenty.*] Compiegne is about *forty* English miles from Amiens.

[7] *Little village.*] Moreuil, about twelve miles from Amiens and nine miles from Montdidier.

[8] *Monsieur Croky.*] Jean, sire de Créqui, surnamed *the rich*, had married Jossine de Soissons, heiress of Jean de Soissons, prince of Poix, who brought very large possessions to her husband, and, amongst others, the lordship of Moreuil. He was governor of Montreuil, through which place Wolsey had just passed. It was his uncle, Antoine de Créqui, seigneur de Pontremi, who in the previous year had so bravely defended Térouane against the united forces of Henry and Maximilian. The family was long one of the most illustrious in France.

king Fraunces that then reigned. And at his coming he embraced me, saying that I was right hartely welcome, and thanked me that I so gently would visit him and his castell, saying unto me that he was preparing him to encounter the king and my lord, to desire them the next day to come to his castell, if he could so intreat them. And in-deede he was in his riding coate of black velvet, with a paire of ermine shoes of black velvet on his feete, with a pair of gilt spurres, ready to ride. Then tooke he me by the hand, and most gently led me into his castell through an other warde. And being once entered within the castle, within a base courte, I sawe all his family and servauntes in goodly order, all in blacke gownes and coates, like mourners, who led me into his hall which was hanged with hall hookes [9] upon the walles, as thicke as one could hange by an other; and in the hall stode an hawkes pearche with three or foure faire goss hawkes thereon. Then we entered into a faire parlour which was hanged with faire clothes of fine old arras, and being there but a while, communing together of my lord of Suffolk, how he was there to have beseiged the same [1], his servauntes brought in unto him bread and wine of diverse sortes. And after we had drunken of the same, "I will," quoth he, "shewe you the strength of my house, how hard it would have been for my lorde of Suffolk to have won it." Then led he me upon the walls which were marvaillous stronge, more than fourteen foote broade

[9] *Hall hookes.*] Hand-guns. The Harl. MS. 428, has *half-hakes; i. e.* axes, from the French *hache;* the half-axe being a diminutive, like the *half-pike.*

[1] *Beseiged the same.*] Shortly before the peace Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, with Florence of Egmond, the imperial commander, had taken Montdidier, and other places, and approached within twenty leagues of Paris itself. See p. 62.

of my feete, and well garnished with great battering pieces of ordenaunce ready charged to be shot off against the king and my lord their comming by, if they would not enter, whose way was laid by the castle.

When he had shewed me all the walles and bullwarkes about the castle, he descended from the walles, and came downe into a faire inwarde courte, where his genet stode ready for him to mount upon, with twelve other of the fairest genets that ever I sawe, and in especial his owne, which was a mare genet, he shewed me that he might have had for it four thousand crownes, to the which I made no aunswer. But upon the other twelve genets were mounted twelve goodly young gentlemen, called pages of honour; they rode all bare headed in coates of cloth of gold, and black velvet paned, and on their legges bootes of red Spanish lether, and spurres parcell gilt.

Then he tooke his leave of mee, and commanded his steward and other of his gentlemen to attend upon me, and conduct me unto my lady his wife, to dinner. And that done he mounted upon his genet, and tooke his journey forth of his castle. Then the steward, with the rest of his gentlemen, led me up to one of the gatehouses, where then my lady their mistress was lodged, for the time that the king and my lord should tarry there.

And I being there tarrying a while, my lady Madame Crokey[2] issued out of her chamber into her dining chamber, where I attended her comming, who received me very gently like her noble estate, having a traine of twelve gentlewomen. And when she and her traine was come all out, she saide unto me, "For

[2] *Madame Crokey.*] See note at p. 92.

as much," quoth she, "as ye be an Englishman, whose custome is to kisse [3] all ladies and gentlemen in your country without offense, although it is not soe here with us in this realme, yet I will be so bould as kisse you, and so ye shall doe all my maides." By meanes whereof I kissed her and all her maides. Then went she to her dinner, being as nobly served as I have seene here any in England, having all the dinner time pleasant communication of the usage of our ladies and noblemen of England, and commended the behaviour of them right excellently: for she was with the king at Arde [4], when the great encounter was between the French king and the king our soveraigne lorde: At which time she was, bothe for her person and goodly behaviour, appointed to keepe company with the ladies of this realme. To be short, after dinner pausing a little, I tooke my leave, and so departed on my journey; and by reason of my tracting of time in castle Crokey, I was constrained that night to lye in a walled

[3] *Whose custome is to kisse.*] Erasmus appears to have been singularly delighted with this English custom. "Quanquam si Britanniæ dotes satis pernosses, Fauste, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres; et si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. Nam ut e pluribus unum quiddam attingam. Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camœnis facile anteponas. *Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus:* Sive quo venias omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis dimitteris: redis? redduntur suavia: venitur ad te? propinantur suavia: discediturabs te? dividuntur basia: occurritur alicubi? basiatur affatim: denique, quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quæ si tu, Fauste, gustasses, semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari." Erasmi *Epistol.* p. 315. edit. 1642. "It becometh nat therefore the persones religious to folowe *the maner of secular persones,* that in theyr congresses and commune metyngs or departyng done use to kysse, take hands, or such other touchings, that good religious persones shulde utterly avoyde."—Whytford's *Pype of Perfection,* fol. 213. b. A.D. 1532.

[4] *Arde.*] Meaning the field of the cloth of gold in 1520.

towne called *Mondedri*[5] and in Latine *Mons desiderii*, the suburbs whereof my saide lorde of Suffolk had lately[6] burned.

And earely in the morning I rode to Campaigne, being Satterday, and market day; where at my first comming I toke up my inne against the middest of the market place, and being set at dinner in a faire chamber, that loked into the streete, I heard a great rumour and clattering of billes. With that I loked out of the windowes, and espied where the officers of the towne brought a prisonner to execution, and with a sworde stroke off his head. And when I demaunded what his offense was, it was answered me, that it was for killing of a red deare in the forest thereby. And incontinent they had set up the poore man's heade upon a pole in the market place, between the Stag's Hornes; and his quarters in foure partes of the forest.

Then went I about to prepare my lorde's lodging, and to see it furnished, which was in the great castle of the towne, whereof my lord had the one halfe assigned him for his lodging, and the king the other halfe; and in like wise they divided a long gallery between them, where was made in the middest thereof a stronge wall with a windowe and a dore. The kinge and my lorde would many times meet at the same windowe and talke, and diverse times would goe in the one to the other, at the said dore.

Nowe in this castle there was lodged Madame Regent, the king's mother, and all her ladies and gentlewomen. Then came there to my lorde the chauncellor of France[7], a very witty man, with all the king's grave counsellors, where they toke great paines

[5] *Mondedri.*] Montdidier.

[6] See p. 62.

[7] *Chauncellor of France.*] Antoine du Prat, who was shortly afterwards made a cardinal.

dayly in consultation. In so much that I heard and sawe my lord fall out with the chauncellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league, which was, before his comming, concluded betweene the king our soveraigne lord and the French king his master; insomuch that my lord stomached him stoutly, and tould him, "That it should not lie in his power to infringe the amiable friendship. And if the king his master, being there present, would followe his counsell, he shall not faile shortly after his returne, but feele the smarte, what it is to mainetaine warre against the king of England, and thereof ye shall well be assured." Soe that his stout countenance, and bould wordes made them all in doubt how to quiet him, and revoke him againe to the counsell, who was then departed in great fury. There was sending, there was coming, there was intreating, and there was great submission, and intercession made unto him, to reduce him to his former communication and conclusion; who would in no wise relent, untill Madame Regent came to him herselfe, who handled the matter in such wise, that she brought him againe to his former estate of communication. And by that meanes he brought other things to passe, that before he could not obtaine, which was more for feare, than for any affection to the matter, he had the heades of the counsell so under his girdle.

The next morning after this conflict, he rose earely about the foure of the clocke, and sat him downe to write letters into Englande unto the kinge, commanding one of his chaplains to prepare him ready to masse, insomuch that the chaplaine stode ready in his vestures, untill foure of the clocke, at afternoone; all which season my Lorde never rose, neither to make water, nor yet to eat any meate, but continually wrote letters, with his

owne hand, having all that time his night cap, and his cherchief on his head. And about the houre of foure of the clocke, at afternoone, he made an end of writinge [8], commanding Christopher Gunner, the king's servaunt, to prepare him without delay to ride post into England with his letters, whom he dispatched away or ever he dranke. And that done, he went to masse, and said his mattins and other devotions with his chaplaine, as he was accoustomed to doe; and then went straight a walking in a garden; and after he had walked the space of an houre or more, and said evensong, then went he bothe to dinner and supper all at once. And after supper, making but small tarrying, scant an houre, he went to his bed, there to take his rest for that night.

The next night following my lord caused a great supper to be made for Madame Regent, and for the queen of Navarre, and other great estates of ladies and noble women.

There was also Madame Reine [9], one of the daughters of king

[8] *Made an end of writinge.*] This long letter is printed in the St. Pa. i. 266—277.

[9] *Madame Reine.*] Renée of France, youngest daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Bretagne, and sister of Claude, the deceased queen of Francis. She was born at Blois in 1510. In 1514, when only four years old, she had been offered to the archduke Charles, (afterwards emperor) with, as her dowry, the French claim to the duchy of Milan, which Louis XII. had settled on her by deed of gift, dated 16 Nov. 1513. This caused Henry VIII. to listen to Longueville's proposal (see p. 23), that his sister Mary, who in 1507 (see p. 9) had been engaged to Charles, should marry Louis XII., as she did. Renée had also been engaged to the Margrave of Brandenburg, and at this time John Zapolia was soliciting her hand. At the time of this embassy she was in her seventeenth year: her age, station, wealth, and claims appear to have rendered her in Wolsey's eyes a fit match for Henry. "Either unapprised of Henry's intentions in favor of Anne (Boleyn), or persuading himself that the present amour would terminate like so many others, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and that he might 'perpetuate' the alliance between England and France, had already selected, for the successor

Lewis, the last king, whose sister [1], lately dead, king Frauncis had married. These two sisters were, by their mother, inheritors of the dutchy of Britaine, and for as much as the king had married one of the sisters, by whome he had the one moitie of the said dutchy; to attaine to the other moiety, he kept the saide Madame Reyne, the other sister, without marriage, to the intent the whole duchy might discend unto him, or his successors, after her death, for lack of issue of her.

But now let us return to the supper or rather banquet, where all these noble personages were highly feasted; and at the middest of the saide banquet, the king with the king of Navarre [2], came sodeinly in upon them, unlooked for, who toke their places in the lowest parte thereof. There was not only plenty of fine meates, but also much mirth with solace, as well in merry communication, as with the noise of my lord's minstrells, who plaied there all that night soe cunningly, that the king took

of Catherine, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII." Lingard, vi. 114 (on the authority of du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, in Le Grand, iii. 166, 168). Lingard then adds, "*The public had indeed fixed on Margaret, duchess of Alençon*, but the letters to which I have referred show, that if he ever thought of her, he soon renounced that idea in favor of Renée." In a note (D) at the end of the volume, Lingard adds, however, "these stories, though frequently repeated by succeeding writers, are undoubtedly fictions." That which in Wolsey's eyes might have rendered Renée a fit match for Henry, would on the other hand have rendered Henry a dangerous brother-in-law for Francis. Francis therefore forwarded her marriage in 1528 with Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, whose alliance might be serviceable and could not prove dangerous. Renée became a zealous partisan of the reformation, first as a Lutheran, then as a Calvinist. She died in 1575.

[1] *Whose sister.*] Claude, elder daughter of Louis by Anne of Bretagne, was the first wife of Francis I., to whom, when count of Angoulême, she was married in 1514. She died in 1524.

[2] Henri d'Albret.

therein great pleasure, insomuche as he desired my lorde to lend them unto him for the next nighte. And after supper, their banquet finished, the ladies and gentlemen fell to dauncing; amongst whom one Madame Fountaine [3], a maide, had the prize. And thus passed they the most parte of the night ere they departed.

The next day the king toke my lord's minstrells and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some live image to whome he vowed a night's pilgrimage, to perform his devotion. When he came there, which was in the night, he daunced, and caused others to doe the same, after the sound of my lord's minstrells, who plaied there all night, and never rested, soe that, whether it were with extreme labour of blowing, or with poisonning, as some judged, because they were more commended by the king than his owne, or of what other mischaunce, I cannot tell, but the plaier on the shalme [4], who was very excellent in that kind of instrument, died within a day or two after.

Then the king retourned unto Campaigne, and caused a wild boar to be lodged for him in the forrest of Campaigne: and thither my lorde rode with him, to see him hunt the wild swine; where my lady Regent, with a number of ladies and damoselles, were standing in chariots, loking on the toile, on the out side,

[3] *Fountaine.*] Probably one of the daughters of Georges de Bueil, seigneur de Fontaines.

[4] *Shalme.*] The base cornet. Ps. xcviii. ver. 6. "With trumpets also, and *shawms.*" Old Vers. in Common Prayer. "With trumpets and sound of *cornets.*" English Bible. In the *Latin vulgate,* "*Tuba cornea.*" In a letter (Calig. B. vi. f. 341.) from Magnus and Ratcliffe to Wolsey, it is said that Henry VIII's letters were presented whilst Q. Margaret and James V. were going to mass amid the music of trumpets and *shamulles:* and in Cranmer's letter to Hawkins, (I. Ellis, ii. 37.) describing Anne Boleyn's coronation, he mentions "tromppets, *shambes,* etc."

which was pitched there for that purpose ; among whome stoode my lorde Cardinall, to regarde the hunting, in Madame Regent's chariot. And within the toile was the king with diverse minion gentlemen [5] of Fraunce, ready furnished to this high and dangerous enterprize, of the hunting of the perrilous wild swine. The king being in his doublet and hosen, all of sheepe's colour clothe, his hosen, from the knee upwarde, were thrummed very thicke with silke of the same colour ; having in his slip a brace of great white greyhoundes, who were armed, as the manner is there, to defend them from the violence of the swines tuskes. And the rest of the king's gentlemen, being appointed to hunt this bore, were likewise in their dubblettes and hosen, holding eache of them in their handes a very sharpe boare speare.

Then the king commanded the kepers to uncouch the boare, and that every other person within the toile should goe to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen and yeomen of England : and incontinent the boare issued out of his denne, and, followed with an hound, came into the plaine, where being staied a while, and gasing upon the people, and incontinent pursued by the hound, he spied a little bushe standing upon a banke over a ditche, under the which lay two French gentlemen, and thither fled, trusting there to have defended himselfe, who thrust his head snuffing into the same bushe. These two gentlemen fled from thence, as men doe from the danger of death. Then was the boare by violence and pursuite of the hunters and the hounds, driven from thence, who ran straight to one of my lorde's

[5] *Minion gentlemen.*] Fr. *Mignon*, favourite; originally from the old German *Minna :* as used by Cavendish, it means, simply, a young gentleman of the king's court. Afterwards, especially in Henry III's (of France) time, it was used unfavorably. Some of its derivatives are still good : *mignionette* is a sweet flower, and *minion* type, in which this note is printed, takes its name from its supposed elegant form.

footmen, a very tall and comely yeoman, who had in his hands an English javelline, with the which he was faine to defend himselfe from the boare, a great while, the boare continually foining at him with his great tuskes, so that at the last he was faine to pitche his javelin in the ground betwene him and the boare, the which the boare brake with his force and foining. And with that the yeoman drewe his sworde, and stode at his defence; and with that the hunters came to the rescue, and put him once againe to flight. With that he fled to an other young gentleman of England, called Mr. Ratcliffe, who was sonne and heire to the lord Fitzwalter, and now earle of Sussex[6], who had borrowed by chaunce of a French gentleman, a very fine and sharpe boare speare, and therewith hee thrust the boare into the mouth, and soe into his throate; whereupon the sport was ended.

Now shortly after there were divers malicious practises pretended against us by the French, who by their theft somewhat impayred us: whereupon one of them, being a man I was well acquainted with, maintained a seditious untruth, openly divulged, and set forth by a subtile and traiterous subject of their realme, saying also that he doubted not, but the like had bine attempted within the king of England his majesty's dominions; but to see so open and manifest blasphemy to be openly punished, according to their traiterous deserts, notwithstanding I sawe but small redresse. This was one of the displeasures that the Frenchmen shewed him, for all the pains and travell he toke for qualifying of the king their soveraigne lord's ransome.

Also another displeasure was this. There was no place where he was lodged, after he entered the territory of Fraunce, but

[6] *Earle of Sussex.*] Henry, the second earl of the Ratcliffe family. His father Robert, viscount Fitzwalter, was created earl of Sussex in Dec. 1529.

that he was robbed in his privy chamber, either of little things or great; and at Campaigne he lost his standishe, which was all of silver, and gilt: and there it was espied, and the party taken, which was but a little boy of twelve or thirteen yeares of age, a ruffian's page of Paris, which haunted my lord's lodging without any suspition, untill he was taken lying under my lords privy staires; upon which occasion he was apprehended, and examined, and incontinent he confessed all things that he stole, the which the ruffian his master received, maintained, and procured him soe to doe. Then after the espiall of this boy, my lord revealed the same unto the counsell, by meanes whereof the ruffian was apprehended, and set on the pillory, in the middest of the market place; a goodly recompense for such an offense. Also another displeasure was some lewd person, whosoever it was, had engraved in my lord's windowe upon the leaning stone there, a cardinall's hat with a paire of gallowes over it, in derision of my lord; with diverse other unkinde demeanours, the which I omit here to write them, being so slanderous matters.

Thus passing divers daies in consultation and in other matters, expecting the return of Christopher Gunner, which was sent into England with letters unto the king in post, as is before rehearsed, at the last he returned with letters againe; upon the receipt whereof my lord made haste to return into England.

In the morning that my lord intended to remove, being then at masse in his closet, he consecrated the chauncellor of Fraunce[7] a cardinall, and put upon him his habit, his hat, and his cap of scarlet; and then toke his journey returning againe into England, making such necessary expedition that he came to Guines, where

[7] *Chauncellor of Fraunce.*] Antoine du Prat.

he was nobly received of my lord Sandes, then capitaine there, with all the retinue of the same. And from thence he rode to Callise, where he tarried the shipping of his stuff, horses and traine; and in the meane time he established there a marte, to be kept for all nations; but howe longe, and in what sorte it continued I know not, for I never heard of any great good it did, or any assembly there of merchants or merchandise, that was brought thither, for the furniture of so great and weighty a matter.

These things and other for the weale of the towne and garrison by him perfected and finished, as it was then thought, he tooke shipping and arrived at Dover, from whence he rode to the court[8], the king then being in his progress at Sir Henry Wiatt's house, in Kent[9], of whom I and other of his servauntes thought, that he should be there highly received at his home comming, as well of the king as of others of the lordes. But we were deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding he went immediately after his comming thither to the king, with whom he had long talke, and continued two or three daies there in the court; and then returned to his house at Westminster, where he remained until Michaelmas terme, which was within lesse than a fortnight after, and exercised his high rome of chauncellorship, as he was accustomed.

And immediately after the beginning of the terme, he caused to be assembled in the Star chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England that were in Westminster hall at that present, and there made to them a

[8] *To the court*] Sept. 30, 1527. Herbert, p. 210.

[9] *Sir Henry Wiatt's house, in Kent.*] Allington castle, near Aylesford and Maidstone.

long oration, declaring unto them the cause of the embassage into Fraunce, and his proceeding there; amongst the which he said, "he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was hearde of in this realme before, as well betweene the Emperor and us, as also betweene the king our sovereign lord and the French king, with a perpetuall peace, the which shall be confirmed in writing eternally, sealed with the broade seales of both the realmes graven in fine gold[1]; affirming farther, that the king shall receive yearly his tribute by that name out of the duchy of Normandy, with all the costes which he hath sustained in the

[1] *Graven in fine gold.*] "The ratification of this treaty is preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster. It is written on ten leaves of vellum, signed by the French king, 'Françoys' and countersigned 'Robertet.' The great seal of France is appended to it, inclosed in a magnificent *box of pure gold:* on the obverse of which Francis is represented sitting on his throne, under a superb cloth of estate, the curtains of which are drawn back and held open by two angels, and two smaller angels are assisting to keep them open at the upper part. Two lions are crouching at the feet of Francis, and form the footstools to the throne. The whole is surrounded by an inscription, on a broad border, '*Plurima servantur fœdere, cuncta fide.*' The reverse has three Fleurs de Lis on a plain shield (the arms of France) enclosed in the collar of the order of St. Michael, exquisitely chased, surmounted by the crown, with the style and titles of Francis, '*Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum rex Christianissimus,*' on a border similar to the former. The whole is finely executed, and is very inadequately, though not inaccurately, represented in Rymer's engraving, vol. xiv. p. 227. The first page of the manuscript is illuminated, and, at the beginning, exhibits a miniature of Francis in a suit of Milan armour, with a surcoat of black, embroidered with gold. At the bottom is the Fleur de Lys, on a shield supported by two angels. The sides are ornamented with birds, flowers, and insects, sustaining a motto on each; that of the dexter being '*Nutrisco et extinguo,*' that on the sinister '*Extinguo et nutrisco.*' It is altogether one of the most beautiful manuscripts of the age." St. Pap. i. 275. It may be as well to add that the motto refers to Francis' well-known device of the Salamander, which doubtless figures among the "insects."

warres. And also, where there was restraint made in Fraunce of the French quene's dowry, whom the duke of Suffolk had married, for diverse yeares during the warres, it was fully concluded, that she should not only receive the same again, according to her just right, but also the arrerages being unpaide during the restrainte. All which things shall be perfected shortly at the resort of the ambassadors out of Fraunce. In the which shall be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen to conclude the same, as hath not bine seen heretofore repaire hither out of one realme. This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between the gentlemen of each realme, and intercourse of merchandise, that it shall seeme to all men, both territories to be but one monarchie. Gentlemen may travaile from one country to another for their recreation and pastime; then merchaunts, being in either country arrived, shall be assured to travaile about their affaires in peace and tranquillity: so that this realme shall joye and prosper for ever. Therefore it shall be well done of all true Englishmen to rejoice, and to set forthe the same, at the resort of this great embassage, both in gesture and intertainement, that it may be an occasion unto them, bothe to accept the same in good parte, and also to use you with the semblable, and make of the same a noble reporte in their countries.

"Now my masters I beseeche you, and require you on the king's behalfe, that you shewe yourselves herein as loving and obedient subjects, wherein the king will much rejoice at your towardness." And here he ended his oration, and brake up the courte, and soe every man departed his several waye.

This great long looked for embassage[2] was now come over with

[2] *Embassage.*] The ambassadors were Anne de Montmorency, constable and grand master of France; Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne (who after-

a great retinue, which were in number eighty persons or above of the most noblest and worthiest gentlemen in all Fraunce, who were right honorably received from place to place after their arrivall, and so conveyed through London the twentieth of October A.D. 1527, unto the bishoppes pallace there in Paules churche yarde, whereas they were lodged, or thereaboutes, for the time of their abode. To whome diverse noblemen resorted and gave them diverse goodly presents; and in especiall the mayor and citty of London, as wine, sugar, waxe, capons, wild fowle, beastes, muttons, and other necessary things in great aboundaunce, for the expences of their house. Then resorted they on the Sonday unto the courte being at Grenewiche, and were there received by the king's majesty, of whome they were highly entertained. They had a commission to establish the king's highness in the order of Fraunce[3]; for whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine

wards was bishop of Paris and cardinal); Jean Brinon, seigneur de Villaynes, premier president of the parliament of Rouen; and Jean, seigneur d'Humières. They were attended by a suite of about 600 persons, amongst whom were many seigneurs and gentlemen. The memorials of this embassy are still extant amongst the MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

[3] *Order of Fraunce.*] The order of St. Michael. In the year 1022, king Robert of France instituted an order called that of the Star, which was enlarged by John, king of France, in 1350. This having become common and somewhat debased, Charles VII., at the last chapter, which was held at Clichy, in 1456, took his ribbon and badge from his neck and gave it to the officer of the nightly watch then on duty, calling him in ridicule *Chevalier du Guet.* From that time the order died away. In 1469, Louis XI. instituted the order of St. Michael, which also, in its turn, became of little value. In 1579, the order of the St. Esprit was founded by Henry III., in memory of his elevation to the crown of Poland and succession to the crown of France on the day of Pentecost. Those upon whom the order of the St. Esprit was conferred bore, however, the collar of St. Michael within that of the higher order, and were called *knights of the king's orders.* The order of St. Michael was sometimes given separately to persons of an inferior class.

gold, with the Michaell hanging thereat, and robes to the said order appurtenant, the which was very comely, of blue velvet, and richly embroidered, wherein I sawe the king passe into his closet, and after in the same apparell at masse beneath in his chappell. And to gratify the French king for his great honour with the semblable, he sent incontinent a nobleman [4] of the order here in England with Garter the Herald [5] into Fraunce unto the French king, to establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a semblable collar, with a garter and robes according to the same; the ambassadors remaining here untill their retourne.

All things being then determined and concluded, concerning the perpetuall peace upon solemn ceremonies and othes contained in certaine instruments touching the same, it was therefore determined, that there should be a solemne masse sung in the cathedrall church of Paules by the cardinall, the king being present at the same in his traverse. To the performaunce of their determination, and to the preparation thereof, there was made a gallery from the west doore of Paule's churche, through the body of the same, up to the quier doore, railed on every side, upon which railes stode swete burning perfumes. Then the king and my lord cardinall, with their whole traine of noblemen and gentlemen, went upon the saide gallery into the quier, and so to the high aulter unto the travers, my lord cardinall preparing himself to sing the masse, associated with twenty four miters of bishoppes,

At the revolution all were abolished, and by Napoleon the Legion of Honor was founded to replace them.

[4] *A nobleman.*] Thomas Bullen, then viscount Rochford, afterwards created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, the father of queen Anne. See p. 48.

[5] *Garter the Herald*] Sir Thomas Writhe, or Wriothesley, uncle of the first earl of Southampton.

and abbotes, who attended and served him, in such ceremonies as to him were then due, by reason of his legatine prerogative.

And after the last *agnus*[6], the king rose out of his travers and kneled upon a carpett and cushions before the high aulter; and the like did the Graunde Master of Fraunce the cheife ambassador, that represented the Frenche king, betwene whome my lord cardinall divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oathe, and bond of security of the saide covenante of perpetuall peace. That done, the king resorted againe to his travers, and the Grand Master to his. This masse being ended, which was solemnly sung bothe with the quier of the same churche, and with the king's chappell, my lord cardinall toke and read the instrument of peace openly before the king and all other bothe Frenche and Englishe, and there in the sight of all the people the king put his hande to the seale of gold, and subscribed the same with his own hande, and delivered the same to Grand Master as his dede, who semblably did the like; and that done they departed.

And the king rode home with my lord cardinall to Westminster, and there dined with all the Frenchmen, passing all the

[6] *After the last agnus.*] The book of ceremonies (compiled under the influence of the bishops Gardiner and Tonstall, and in opposition to that of Cranmer, about the year 1540, and designed to retain in the church many operose and superstitious rites, by setting them off with the aids of a philosophical and subtle interpretation), describing in succession the different parts of the canon of the mass, proceeds thus: "Then saith the priest *thrice, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, &c.*, advertising us of *three* effects of Christ's passion; wherof the *first* is, deliverance from the misery of sin: the *second* is from pain of everlasting damnation; wherefore he saith twice *Miserere nobis,* that is to say, *Have mercy on us;* and the *third* effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God."—Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials,* vol. i. p. 289. Records. See also *Miror of our Lady,* fol. 189, and Becon's *Works,* vol. iii. fol. 49. A.D. 1564.

day after with consultation of weighty matters, touching the conclusion of the saide articles of the saide perpetuall peace. The king then departed by water to Greenwiche; at whose departing it was concluded by the king's devise, that all the Frenchmen should resorte to Richmonde and hunt in every of the parks there, and from thence to Hampton Courte, and therein likewise to hunt, and my lord cardinall to make there a supper, or a banquet, or bothe to them; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there to hunt, and after their retourne againe to London, to resorte to the king at Greenwiche, and there to banquet with him before their departure. This determined, they all departed to their lodgings.

Then was there no more to doe but to make preparation of all things for this great assembly at Hampton Courte, at the day appointed. My lord cardinall called before him his principal officers, steward, treasurer, controller, and the clerkes of his kitchine, to whom he declared his full minde, touching the entertainement of the Frenchmen at Hampton Courte; whome he commaunded neither to spare for any costes, expences or travell, to make them such a triumphant banquet, as they may not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious reporte thereof in their country, to the great honor of the king and his realme. His pleasure to them knowne, to accomplish his commaundement, they sent out all the caterers, purveyors, and diverse other persons to my lord's friends to prepare. Also they sent for all their expert cokes, and cunning persons in the arte of cokery, which were within London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast.

Then the purveiors provided, and my lords friendes sent such provision, as you would wonder to have sene. The cokes wrought

both night and day in subtelties and many crafty devises; where lacked neither gold, silver, neither any costly thing mete for the purpose.

The yeomen and groomes of the wardrobes were busied in hanging of the chambers with costly hangings, and furnished the same with beddes of silke, and other furniture for the same in every degree. Then my lord cardinall sent me, being his gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows thither, to foresee all things touching our roomes to be nobly garnished accordingly. Our paines were not small nor light, but dayly travelling up and downe from chamber to chamber. Then wrought the joiners, carpenters, masons, painters, and all other artificers necessary to be had to glorify this noble feast. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuffe, and other riche implements, so that there was nothing lacking to be devised or imagined for the purpose. There were also provided two hundred and eighty beddes, furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly here to be rehearsed. But all wise men may, and doe sufficiently know what belongeth to the furniture thereof, and that is sufficient at this time to be saide.

The day was come to the Frenchmen assigned, and they ready assembled before the houre of their appointment. Wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworthe, a place and a parke of the king's within three miles, there to hunt and spend the day untill night. At which time they retourned againe to Hampton Courte, and every of them was conveied to their severall chambers, having in them great fires and wine for their comforte and releife, remaining there untill the supper was ready. The chambers where they supped and banquetted, were ordered in this sorte. First, the great waitinge chamber was hanged

with rich arras [7], as all other were, one better than another, and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There was set tables round about the chamber, banquet wise covered. A cupboard was there garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber, to give the more light, fower great plates of silver set with great lightes, and a great fire of wood and coales.

The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, was hanged with very riche arras, and a sumptuous clothe of estate furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve. The tables were ordered in manner as the other chamber was, saving that the high table was removed beneath the cloath of estate, towards the middest of the chamber, covered. Then was there a cupboard in length as broade as the chamber, with six deskes of height, garnished with gilt plate, and the nethermost desk was garnished all with gold plate, having with lightes one paire of candlestickes of silver and gilt, being curiously wrought, which cost three hundred marks, and standing upon the same two lightes of waxe burning, as big as torches, to set it forth. This cupboard was barred round about that no man could come nighe it; for there was none of all this plate touched in the banquet, for there was sufficient besides. The plates that hung on the walles to give light were of silver and gilt, having in them great perchers [8] of waxe burning, a great fire in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast.

Nowe was all things in a readiness, and supper time at hande. The principall officers caused the trumpetts to blowe to warne to supper. The said officers right discreetly went and

[7] *Rich arras.*] Some of Wolsey's tapestry, with his arms interwoven, still remains at Hampton Court, in a room at the east end of the great hall.

[8] *Perchers.*] The large wax-candles usually set upon the altars.

conducted these noble-men from their owne chambers, into the chambers where they should suppe. And they being there, caused them to sit downe; and that done, their service came up in such aboundance, both costly and full of subtilties, and with such a pleasant noise of instruments of musick, that the Frenchmen as it seemed, were rapt into a heavenly paradise.

Ye must understande that my lord cardinall was not there, ne yet come, but they were merry and pleasaunte with their fare, and devised subtilties. Before the second course, my lord cardinall came in booted and spurred all sodenly among them, and bade them proface[9]; at whose comming there was great joye with rising every man from his place. Whom my saide lorde caused to sit still, and kepe their romes: and being in this apparell as he rode, he called for a chaire, and sat down in the middest of the highe table, laughing and being as merry as ever I sawe him in my life. Anon came up the second course, with many dishes, subtilties, and devises, about a hundred in number, which were of so goodly proportion and costly devise, that I thinke the Frenchmen never sawe the like. The wonder was no lesse than it was worthy in deede. There were castles with images in the same; Paules churche for the quantity as well counterfaited as the painter should have painted it on a cloath or wall. There were beastes, birdes, fowles, and personnages, most likely made and counterfaited, some fighting with swordes, some with gunnes and cross bowes, some vaulting and leaping; some dauncing with ladies, some on horses, in compleit harnes, justing with longe and sharpe speares, with many mo devises than I am able to describe. Among all, one I noted. There was a chess

[9] *Proface.*] Much good may it do you! Ital. *profaccia,* Lat. *proficiat.*

borde made with spiced plate [1], with men thereof to the same. And for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen be very cunning and experte in that playe, my lord cardinall gave the same to a gentleman of France, commaunding there should be made a goodly case, for the preservation thereof, in all haste, that he might convey the same safe into his country. Then toke my lord a bowle of gold filled with hypocras, and putting off his cap, saide, "I drink to the king my soveraigne lord, and next unto the king your master," and therewith dranke a good draught. And when he had done, he desired the Grand Master to pledge him cup and all, the which was well worth five hundred marks; and so caused all the borde to pledge these two royal princes.

Then went the cuppes so merrily about, that many of the Frenchmen were faine to be led to their beddes. Then rose up my lord, and went into his privy chamber to pull off his bootes, and to shifte him; and then went he to supper in his privy chamber, and making a very shorte supper, yea rather a short repaste, retourned into the chamber of presence among the Frenchmen, using them so lovingly and familiarly, that they could not commend him too much.

And whilst they were in communication and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers. Every chamber had a basen and an ewer of silver, a great livery-pot of silver, and some gilt; yea and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beare, a bowle and a goblet, and a pot of silver to drink in, bothe for their beare and wine; a silver candlestick, bothe white and plaine, having in it two sizes, and a staffe torche of waxe; a fine manchet, and a cheat loafe [2]. Thus was every

[1] *Plate.*] Q. *paste?*

[2] *Cheat loafe.*] Todd derives *cheat* from *achet*, bought bread, as distinguished

chamber furnished throughout all the house, and yet the cupboardes in the two banquetting chambers not once touched. Thus when it was more than time convenient they were convaied to their lodgings, where they rested at ease for the night. In the morning after they had heard masse, they dined with my lorde, and so departed towardes Windsor. They being then departed, my lord retourned againe to London, because it was in the middest of the tearme.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king was made privy of all this worthy feast, who then intended far to excede the same; which I leave untill the retourne of the Frenchmen; who had given an high commaundement to his officers to devise a farre more sumptuous banquet for the strangers, than they had at the cardinall's; which was not neglected but pursued with all dilligence.

After the retourne of these straungers from Windsor, which place with the order thereof they much commended, the day approached that they were by the king invited to the courte; where first they dined, and after dauncing and other pastimes by them done, the time of supper came on. Then was the banquetting chamber in the tilt yarde at Greenwiche furnished for the enterteinement of these strangers, to the which place they were conducted by the noblest personnages then being in the courte, where they did bothe sup and banquet. But to describe unto you the order, the dishes, the subtilties, and strange devises of the same, I lack both a head of fine wit, and also cunning in my bowells to declare these wonderful devises. But thus ye shall

from the coarser bread made at home; others suppose it a diminutive of *manchet*.

understande; although it were marvaillous sumptuous at Hampton Courte, yet that notwithstanding, this banquet excelled the same, as farre as gold doeth exceed silver, in value of weight for weight; and for my parte I never sawe, heard nor read of the like. Then in the middest of this banquet, there was tourning at the barriers with lusty gentlemen in compleat armour very gorgious on foote; then was there the like on horseback; and after all this the most goodly disguising or enterlude, made in Lattine, that I have seen; the plaiers apparell being so riche, and of so strange devises, that it passeth my capacity to expound.

This done, there came a number of the fairest ladies and gentlewomen, that bare any brute[3] of bewty in all the realme, in most richest apparell that their tailors coulde invent or devise to set forthe their gesture, proportion and beauty, that they semed to all men to be rather celestial angels descended from heaven, than creatures of flesh and bone. Surely to me, simple soule, it was inestimable; and so I think it was to other of an higher judgment: with whom these gentlemen of Fraunce daunced, untill a gorgious maske came in of noble gentlemen, who daunced and masked with these ladies, every man as his fantasy served him. That done, and the maskers departed, came in an other maske of ladies so costly and gorgeously apparelled, that it passeth my wit to manifest and declare. Wherefore least I should rather deface their riches, I leave it untouched. These ladies maskers toke each of them one of the Frenchemen to daunce, and to maske. Ye shall understande, that these noblewomen maskers spake good French unto the Frenchemen;

[3] *Brute.*] *Bruit,* reputation, fame.

which delighted them very much, to heare these ladies speake to them in their owne tongue.

Thus was this night occupied and consumed from five of the clock, untill two or three of the clock after midnight; at which time it was convenient for all estates to drawe to their lodgings, and take their rest. And thus every man departed, whereas they had most releife. Then as nothing, either health, wealth, or pleasure, can alwaies endure, so ended this triumphant banquette, which in the morning seemed to all the beholders but as a phantasticall dreame.

After all this solemne cheere, at a day appointed they prepared them with bag and baggage to retourne into Fraunce. Then, according to the order of all honorable persons, they resorted in good order unto the courte, to take their leave of the king, and other noblemen then being there: to whom the king declared first his princely pleasure of commendations unto the king their master, and thanked them for their paines and travell, and after long communication had with the most honorable among them of the embassage, he bad them adieu.

Then came they to Westminster unto my lord to doe the like; of whome they received the king's rewardes, the which were these; every man of honour and estimation had plate, some to the value of three or four hundred poundes, and some more, and some lesse, besides other great giftes, received before of the king's majesty, as gownes of velvet with rich furres, great chaines of gold, and some had goodly horses, or geldings, of great price and valewe, with diverse other giftes, which now I cannot call to remembrance. And the least of them had an ounce of crownes of gold: the worst page amonge them had twenty crownes for his parte. And being thus nobly rewarded they departed. My

lorde after humble commendations had by them to the Frenche king, bad them adieu. And the next day they were conveied with all their furniture, unto the sea side, with lusty young gentlemen of Englande. And what praise, or commendation, or salutation they made in their country at their retourne, in good faithe I cannot shewe you, for I never heard any thing thereof. For then began other matters to brue, that occupied our heades and imaginations, wherewith all men's stomakes were full, with small digestion.

The long-hid and secret love that was betweene the king and mistress Anne Bullen brake now out, and the matter was by the king disclosed unto my lorde cardinall[4]; whose persuasion upon

[4] *By the king disclosed unto my lorde cardinall.*] "The first suggestion of the divorce has been attributed to different persons. 1. By the public the credit or infamy of it was given to Wolsey (*instigator et auctor consilii existimabatur*, Poli *Apol. ad Cæs.* 115, 116), and the Emperor, in his answer to Henry's defiance, openly charges the cardinal with it (Le Grand, iii. 46).—2. Wolsey denied or admitted it, as best suited his purpose. He denied it in the presence of the king in the legatine court (see p. 131), and repeatedly boasted of it to the French ambassador (Le Grand, iii. 186, 200, 318, 319). —3. Henry himself declared that the idea originated not with the cardinal, but with himself, and that his scruples were confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes (see p. 131. Le Grand, iii. 218. Hall, 180): and Longland, the king's confessor, agrees with him so far, as to say that he derived his first information respecting it from Henry (Burnet's History, iii. App. p. 400). But Cardinal Pole, who, writing to the king on such a subject, would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false, assures us that it was first mentioned to the king by certain divines, whom Anne Boleyn sent to him for that purpose. 'Illa ipsa sacerdotes suos, graves theologos, quasi pignora promptæ voluntatis misit, qui non modo tibi licere affirmarent uxorem dimittere, sed graviter etiam peccare dicerent, quod punctum ullum temporis eam retineres; ac nisi continuo repudiares, gravissimam Dei offensionem denuntiarent. Hic primus totius fabulæ exorsus fuit.' Pole, f. lxxvi." Lingard, vi. 113.

his knees long time before to the king to the contrary would not serve: the king was so affectioned, that will bare place, and discretion was banished cleane for the time. My lorde being provoked to declare his opinion and wisdome in the avauncement of his desired purpose, thought it not mete to wade too farre alone, or to give his hasty judgement or advice in so weighty a matter, but desired of the king license to aske counsell of men of auncient study, and famous learning, bothe in the divine and civil lawes. That obteined,—by his legantine authority, he sent his commission out for all the bishoppes of this realme, that were learned in either of the saide lawes, or else had in any highe estimation for their prudent counsaile and judgement in princely affaires of long experience.

Then assembled these noble prelates at Westminster before my lorde cardinall, as well auncient famous and notable clerkes of bothe universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as also of divers cathedrall colleges of this realme, reckoned and accompted learned and of witty discretion in the determination of doubtful matters. Then was this matter of the king's case debated, reasoned, argued, and consulted of from day to day, and time to time, that it was to the learned a goodly hearing, but in the conclusion, (as it seemed to me, and other,) the auncient fathers of bothe the lawes, (by my small estimation,) at their departure, departed with one judgement, contrary to the principall expectation. I heard then the opinion of some of the most famous persons amonge that sorte, reporte, that the king's case was too obscure for any learned man to discuss, the pointes therein were so doubtfull to have any true understanding or intelligence. And therefore they departed without any resolution or judgement.

Then in this assembly of bishoppes it was thought most expe-

dient, that the king should first send out his commissioners into all the universities of Christendome, as well here in Englande, as into forraine regions, to have among them his grace's case argued substauntially, and to bringe with them from thence the very definition of their opinions in the same, under the seales of every university. That for this time was their determination; and so allowed, that diverse commisioners were incontinent appointed to this matter, who were divided, as some to Oxonforde, some to Cambridge, some to Lovaine, some to Paris, some to Orleaunce, some to Bononye, and some to Padway, and so forthe. Although these commisioners had the travell, yet was the costes and charges the king's; the which were no lesse than great and notable sommes of money, and all went out of this realme. For as I heard reported (and as it semed in deede) besides the charges of the embassage, the famous and most notable persons, and in especiall such as had any rule, or had the custody of their universitie seales, were choked by the commisioners with such notable sommes of money [5], that they were the more glad to agree to their requestes, and to graunt to all that they desired: by meanes whereof all the commisioners retourned home againe with their purpose finished according to their commision, under the particular seale of every severall university, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principall persons: in so much as the commisioners were not only

[5] *Such notable sommes of money.*] It is a question of fact which has been warmly debated, whether the suffrages of the universities in Henry's favour were purchased by money. It does not seem very necessary that *we* should enter into this dispute. But any one who wishes so to do, may consult Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 401, appendix; Harmer's [Wharton's] *Specimen of Errors*, p. 7; Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 420; Poli *Epistolæ*, vol. i. p. 238. A.D. 1744.

ever after in great estimation, but also most liberally advaunced and rewarded, far beyond their worthy desertes. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forwarde, having now (as they thought) a sure staffe to stand by.

These proceedings declared to my lord cardinall, he sent againe for the bishoppes, to whom he declared the effect and travell of these commisioners, and for affirmaunce thereof shewed them the instruments of every university[6] under the severall seales. Then this matter brought to passe, they went once againe to consultation, how it should be ordered to the purpose. —It was then thought good and concluded, that the king should send unto the pope, declaring the opinions of those universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seales; to the which it was thought that the consent of these worthy prelates of this realme should be necessary to be sent also thither, altogether comprised in an instrument, sealed with all their seales annexed to the saide instrument, which was not long in doing; nor was long after, but the ambassadors were assigned to travaille in this matter, and to take upon them this journey accordingly, having furthermore certaine instructions, amonge which one was this, that if the pope would not hereupon agree to give judgement definitive in the king's case, then to require

[6] *The instruments of every university.*] Eight of these determinations, with a long discourse in support of the judgments contained in them, were printed soon afterwards, in one volume, under the following title: "The Determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlefull for a man to marry his brother's wyfe, that the pope hath no power to dispence therewith: Imprinted by Thomas Berthelet the 7. day of Novembre, 1531." They were also published in Latin: in which language they are exhibited by Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. book ii. No. 34. Records.

another commision from his holiness, to be graunted under leade[7] to establish a court to be kept in Englande for that purpose, only directed to my lord cardinall and legate of Englande, and to the cardinall Campaigne (who was then, although he were a stranger, bishoppe of Bathe[8], the which the king gave him at a certaine time, being an ambassador from the pope,) to determine and justly to judge according to their conscience and discretions. To the which after long sute made, and the good will of the sayd cardinall by faire promises obteined to travell into England, the pope graunted to their sute. And this done and atcheved, they made retourne unto the king, making relation unto him, that now his graces pleasure and purpose should be brought substantially

[7] *Under leade.*] Under a leaden seal or bull, *bulla plumbea.* In the course of time the *bulla* gave its name to the document, to which it was, originally, a mere appendage. The term "Bull" is now restricted, by common usage, to the chief documents issuing from the papal chancery, answering to the letters patent of secular princes. Papal rescripts, however, as well as papal bulls, are "under leade," and, like them, are divided into matters of grace and matters of justice; in the former the leaden *bulla* is attached by a silken cord, in the latter by a hempen twist. Metallic *bullæ* were anciently used by the emperors of the East, and by many sovereigns of Europe. The doges of Venice used them until the extinction of the republic. Sometimes the *bullæ* were of silver, sometimes of gold: the document by which, in 1356, the emperor Charles IV. determined the mode of election of future emperors, and established the constitution of the empire, is called, by way of pre-eminence, the Golden Bull, the *bulla* being of that metal. It is still preserved at Frankfort. A diminutive of the word remains in common use; Napoleon employed it for his official communications, or *bulletins*, of military news; in England, it is employed for the official announcement of a royal personage's state of health.

[8] *Bishoppe of Bathe.*] This appears to be an error: John Clerk was, at this time, bishop of Bath and Wells. Campeggio was bishop of Salisbury, which see had been given to him by Henry in 1524, during a mission from the pope to solicit aid against the Turk.

to passe, being never more likely, considering the state of bothe the judges.

Long was the expectation on all sides for the comming of this legate from Rome, with his commision. After very long desire this legate was arrived in England, and being sore vexed with the disease of the goute [9], was constrained by force thereof to make a longe journey or ever he came to London; who should have bine most solemnely received at Blackheath, and so with triumph conveied to London, but his desire was such, that he would not so be entertained with pompe, and vaine glory, and therefore sodainly came to his house without Temple barre, called then Bathe Place [1], where he was lodged, which was furnished with all manner of stuffe and implements of my lord's provision.

[9] *Disease of the goute.*] Du Bellay insinuates that this gout served the purpose sometimes of a convenient pretext. "Je luy diz mon advis estre que, par envoyer le Cardinal Campege, il (le Pape) vouloit mener en bride l'Empereur, et eulx attendront l'effect des choses d'Italie, *car il pourroyt tousjours avancer ou retarder soulz umbres de ses gouttes,* le dit Cardinal actendant la fin, et bailler pour benefice ce qu'il auroyt faict, auquel qu'il vouldroyt des deulx princes, encores s'aydant là où il vouldroyt de l'ombre du personnage, car il pourroyt dire à l'ung l'avoir baillé bon Anglois, à l'autre bon Imperial." In the same letter he says: "Une des filles de chambre, monseigneur, de mademoiselle de Boulan se trouva mardy actainte de la suée, à grant haste le roy deslogea, et alla à douze milles d'icy, et m'a-t-on-dict que la damoyselle fut envoyée pour le suspect au Viconte son frère (*père*) qui est en Cainet (Kent). Jusques icy, monseigneur, l'amour n'a point prins de diminution. Je ne sçay si l'absence avec les difficultés de Rome pourroyt engendrer quelque chose." The Bishop of Bayonne to the grand master Montmorency, Dat. London, viij. June. Le Grand, iii. 136, 136.

[1] *Bathe Place.*] The *Inn* of the bishops of Bath was on the South side of the Strand; the site of it, and, probably, of other episcopal inns, of which there were several near it, was afterwards occupied by Arundel House: the space is now occupied by Howard Street, Arundel Street, Surrey Street, and Norfolk Street.

So then after some deliberation, and consultation in the ordering and using of the king's matters, and his commision and the articles of his ambassage seene, read, and digested, it was determined, that the king and the good queene, his just wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And then in the Black Friars a certaine place was there appointed most convenient for the king and queene's repaire to the courte, there to be kept for the disputation and determination of the case, whereas these two legates sat judges; before whom the king and queene were asscited and summoned to appeare; which was a strange sight, and the newest device, that ever was read or heard of before, in any region, story or chronicle, a king and a queene to be constrained by process compellatory to appeare in any courte as common persons, within their owne realme and dominion, to abide the judgements and decres of their own subjects, being the royall diademe and prerogative thereof.

Forsoothe it is a world to consider the desirous will of wilfull princes, when they be set and earnestly bent to have their wills fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will suffice; and how little they regard the dangerous sequell that may ensue as well to themselves as to all their subjects. And above all things, there is nothing that maketh them more willfull than carnall love, and sensuall affection of voluptuous desire, and pleasures of their bodies, as was in this case; wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what lawes were enacted, what costly edifications of noble and auncient monasteries were overthrowne[2], what diversity of opinions then

[2] *Monasteries were overthrowne.*] At the same time we must not forget the example before set by Wolsey himself, in procuring the confiscation of some of these, for building and endowing his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. In

rose, what executions were then committed, how many noble clerkes and good men were then for the same put to deathe, and what alteration of good, auncient, and holesome lawes, customes, and charitable foundations were tourned from reliefe of the poore, to utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble realme. It is sure too much pitty to heare or understand the things that have since that time chaunced and happened to this region. The profe thereof hath taught us all Englishmen the experience, too lamentable of all good men to be considered. If eyes be not blind men may see, if eares be not stopped they may heare, and if pitty be not exiled the inwarde man may lament the sequell of this pernicious and inordinate love. Although it lasted but a while, the plague thereof is not yet ceased, which our Lorde quenche, and take his indignation from us! *Qui peccavimus cum patribus nostris, et injuste egimus.*

Ye shall understande, as I saide before, that there was a courte erected[3] in the Black Friars in London, whereas sat these two

a letter from the king, given by Lord Herbert, highly honourable both to Henry's head and heart, he thus expresses himself, in a tone of friendly, anxious apprehension and warning, on this particular subject.

"As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, so it be lawfully: for my intent is none but that it should so appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for surely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm, both of good and bad. They say not, that all that is ill gotten is bestowed upon the college, but that the college is the cloke for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me to assure you, to hear it spoken of him which I so intirely love. Wherefore methought I could do no less than thus friendly to admonish you." We shall see below, in the course of the present narrative, that "all the revenues belonging to the college of Oxenforde, and Ipswiche, the kinge toke into his owne handes."

[3] *A courte erected.*] For "Proceedings relating to the dissolution of the

cardinalls for judges in the same. Nowe I will set you out the manner and order of the saide courte. First, there was a courte planted with tables and benches, in manner of a consistory, one seat raised higher (for the judges to sit in) than the other were. Then as it were in the middest of the saide judges, aloafte above them three degrees highe, was a cloath of estate hanged, with a chaire royall under the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distaunce from him, sat the queene; and under the judges feete sat the scribes, and other necessary officers for the execution of the process, and other things appertaining to such a courte. The chiefe scribe was Doctor Stevens [4] after bishoppe of Winchester, and the apparitour, who was called doctor of the courte, was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then, before the king and the judges, within the courte, sat the archbishoppe of Canterbury doctor Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stoode at bothe endes within, the consellors learned in the spirituall lawes, as well the king's, as the

marriage between king Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, 19 Hen. VIII. 1528," &c. See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 299—368, from Lord Herbert, &c.

[4] *Was Doctor Stevens.*] Doctor Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester, at this time in great estimation with Wolsey. In letters and other documents of this period he is often called Doctor *Stevens*. Mr. Granger, in the third volume of Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, p. 385, appendix, intimates that this was a colloquial vulgarism, "*vulgarly*, as Stephen Gardener was Mr. *Stevyns*, in Wolsey's Letter." But it is questionable, I think, whether this is the true account of that name. The bishop himself, in his Declaration of his Articles against George Joye, A.D. 1546, fol. 3. b. of the 4to edition, thus speaks of it, "a booke, wherein he wrote, how Doctor *Stevens* (by *whiche name* I was *then* called) had deceyved hym." And Cavendish below adverts to this appellation in very similar terms. "To this embassage was appointed Dr. Stephen Gardiner, *then called by the name of Doctor Stephens*, and secretary to the king."

queene's. The doctors of lawe for the king was doctor Sampson [5], that was after bishoppe of Chichester, and doctor Bell [6], which was after bishoppe of Worcester, with diverse other: and procurators in the same lawe, on that side, was doctor Peter [7], who was after chiefe secretary, and doctor Tregonwell, with diverse others.

Nowe on the other side there was a councell for the queene standing there; that is to say, doctor Fisher [8], bishop of Rochester, and doctor Standishe [9], bishop of Saint Asaphe in Wales, two notable divines, and in especiall the bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; for whose deathe many noble clerkes and good men lamented, who lost his heade for this cause ere it was ended, on Tower hill. There was also another auncient doctor, called doctor Ridley [10], a very small person of stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerke in divinity.—Thus was the courte ordered, and furnished.

[5] *Doctor Sampson.*] Richard Sampson, dean of Lichfield, and, in 1536, dean of St. Paul's, and bishop of Chichester: translated to Lichfield and Coventry in 1543, and made lord president of Wales. He died in 1554.

[6] *Doctor Bell.*] John Bell, archdeacon of Gloucester, elected bishop of Worcester in 1539. He resigned his see in 1543, and died in 1556.

[7] *Doctor Peter.*] Afterwards better known as Sir William Petre.

[8] *Doctor Fisher.*] John Fisher, beheaded 22 June, 1536.

[9] *Doctor Standishe.*] Henry Standish, who was a Franciscan of Greenwich, a bitter enemy of Colet (see Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 201), and was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph on the 18th of July, 1518.

[10] *Doctor Ridley.*] "Doctor of Divinity, who, by the name of Robert Ridley, was famous, not only at Cambridge, but at Paris, where he long studied; and throughout Europe, by the writings of Polydore Virgil. At the charges of this doctor was our Nicholas [Ridley, his nephew, afterwards bishop of London, and martyr] long maintained at Cambridge, afterwards at Paris, and lastly at Louvain."—Strype's *Eccl. Memor.* iii. 229.

The judges commaunded[1] the crier to proclaim silence, whilest their commision was reade bothe to the courte and to the people assembled. That done, then the scribes commaunded the crier to call the king, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the courte," and with that the king aunswered and said "Here." Then called he againe the queene by the name of "Katherine queene of Englande, come into the courte," who made no aunswer thereto, but rose incontinent out of her chaire, whereas she sat, and because she could not come to the king directly, for the distance severed betweene them, she toke paine to goe about by the courte, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feete in the sight of all the courte and people, to whom she sayd in effect these words[2], in broken Englishe, as hereafter followeth.

[1] *The judges commaunded.*] May 21, 1529. Lord Herbert, in *State Trials,* vol. i. p. 317.

[2] *In effect these words.*] Upon all this process the reader may consult Burnet's *History of the Reformation,* vol. iii. p. 46—48. The bishop affirms positively that the king did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of her judges. "And from this it is clear (says the bishop), that the speeches that the historians have made for them, are all plain falsities." It is no easy matter to contradict the confident affirmation of the historian, and the alleged authority upon which he professes to rely, which is corroborated also by Fox's *Acts,* p. 958; but at the same time, it must be observed, that the testimony for the personal appearance of the king before the cardinals is surprisingly powerful; and this, even though we do not go beyond Cavendish, and the other ordinary historians. But in addition to these, we may refer to the authority of William Thomas, clerk of the council in the reign of king Edward VI., and a well-informed writer: who, in a professed Apology for Henry VIII., addressed to the noted Peter Aretin, "the scourge of princes," which is still extant in MS. *autogr.* in the British Museum, in the Lambeth and other libraries, and printed in the year 1774, speaking of this affair, affirms, "that the cardinal (Campeggio) caused the king as a private partie

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseeche you to doe me justice and right, and take some pitty upon me, for I am a poore woman and a straunger, borne out of your dominion, having here no indifferent counsell, and lesse assuraunce of friendship. Alas! Sir, what have I offended you, or what occaision of displeasure have I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sorte? I take God to my judge, I have bine to you a true and an humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never constrained or gainesayd any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight or daliaunce, whether it were little or much, without grudge or countenaunce of discontentation or displeasure. I loved for your sake all men whome ye loved, whether I had cause or no cause; or whether they were my friends or enemies. I have bine your wife this twenty yeares or more, and ye have had by me diverse children.

"And when ye had me at the first, I take God to my judge, that I was a very maide; and whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause that ye can alleadge against me, either of dishonesty or other matter lawfull to put me from you, I am content to departe to my shame and rebuke; and if there be none, then I pray you let me have justice at your handes. The king your father was in his time of such an excellent wit, that he was accompted among all men for his wisdome to be a second Solomon. And the king of Spaine my father Ferdinand, was reckoned to be one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine, many yeares before his daies: and so they were

in person to appeare before him, and the ladie Katharin both." p. 31, MS. (or p. 27, printed edition.) And yet Lord Herbert gathers from an "authentic record," that the king appeared (notwithstanding what the chronicles say), only by his proctor.—See also *State Trials,* vol. i. p. 319.

bothe wise men and noble kings. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that they had gathered together as wise counsellors unto them of every realme, as to their wisdomes they thought meete. And, as me semeth, there were in those daies as wise and well learned men in bothe realmes as be now at this day, who thought the marriage between You and Me good and lawfull. Therefore it is a wonder to heare what new inventions are now invented against me, that never intended but honesty. And now to cause me to stand to the order and judgement of this courte, it should, as semeth me, doe me much wronge: for ye may condemne me for lack of aunswer, having no counsell but such as you have assigned me. Ye must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my parte, when they be your own subjects, and such as ye have taken and chosen out of your owne counsell, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your will and intent. Therefore I humbly desire you, in the way of charity to spare me, untill I may knowe what counsell and advise my friends in Spaine will advise me to take. And if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled." And with that she rose up and made a low courtesy to the king, and departed from thence, many supposing that she would have resorted againe to her former place; but she toke her way streight out of the courte, leaning upon the arme of one of her servauntes, who was her General Receiver, called Mr. Griffithe. The king being advertised that she was ready to goe out of the house whereas the courte was kept, commaunded the crier to call her againe, who called her by these wordes, "Katherine queene of Englande, come into the courte." With that quoth Mr. Griffithe "Madame ye be called againe." "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, it is no indifferent courte for me, therefore I will not tarry. Goe on your waies." And thus she departed,

without any further aunswer, at that time, or any other, and never would appeare after in any other courte.

The king perceiving she was departed thus, and considering her wordes which she pronounced before time, saide to the audience these wordes in effect. "For as much," quothe he, "as the queene is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all, that she hath bine to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wishe or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of a baser estate. She is also surely a noble woman borne, her conditions will well declare the same." With that quoth the lord cardinall "Sir, I most humbly require your highness to declare before all this audience, whether I have bine the cheife [3] and first mover of this matter unto your majesty or no; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My lord cardinall" quoth the king "I can well excuse you in this matter. Mary (quoth he), ye have bine rather against me in the attempting hereof, than a setter forthe, or a mover of the same. The speciall cause that moved me unto this matter was, a certaine scrupulosity that pricked my conscience, upon certaine wordes spoken at a time by the bishop of Bayon [4], the Frenche ambassador, who had bine hither sent upon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene the princess our daughter, the lady Mary, and the duke of Orleaunce second sonne to the king of Fraunce.

[3] *Whether I have bine the cheife.*] See p. 118. See also Le Neve's *Animadversions on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole*, p. 62.

[4] *Bishop of Bayon.*] The Bishop of Bayonne was Jean du Bellay; see note to p. 106. Bayon, however, is certainly a mistake, for it was not Du Bellay, but Gabriel de Gramont, bishop of Tarbes, who, jointly with others, in April 1527, negociated this treaty. See note at p. 66.

And upon the consultation and determination of the same, he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometime my brother's wife. Which wordes once conceived in the secrete bottom of my conscience, engendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinently accombred, vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought myself to be in great danger of God's indignation; which appeared to me, as me semed, the rather for that he sent us no issue male; and all such issues male, as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world; so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe. Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of scrupulous doubtes, and partly in despaire to have any other issue than I had already by this lady now my wife, it behoved me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stode in for lack of a prince to succeede me. I thought it good therefore in release of the weighty burden of my weak conscience, and also the quiet state of this worthy realme, to attempt the lawe therein, whether I may lawfully take an other wife more lawfull, without spot of carnall concupisence, by whom God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good: and not for any displeasure or misliking of the queene's person and age, with whom I could be as well contented to continue, if our marriage may stande with the lawes of God, as with any woman alive; in which pointe consisteth all this doubt that we goe nowe about to try by the learning, wisedom, and judgement, of you our prelates and pastors, of all this our realme and dominion, now here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience and learning I have committed the charge and judgement, according to the which I will

(God willing) be right well content to submit myselfe, and for my parte obey the same. Wherein after I perceived my conscience so doubtfull, I moved it in confession to you, my lord of Lincolne[5], then my ghostly father. And for as much as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsell of all you my lordes; whereupon I moved it to you my lorde of Caunterbury, first to have your license, (in so much as ye were metropolitaine) to put this matter in question; and so I did of you all, my lordes, to which all ye graunted under all your seales, and that I have here to be shewed." "That is truth, if it please your grace," quoth the bishoppe of Canterbury, "I doubt not but that my brethren here present will acknowledge the same." "No sir, not so, under your correction," quothe the bishoppe of Rochester, "for you have not mine, no." "Ah," quoth the king, "loke here, is not this your hand and your seale?" and shewed him the instrument with seales. "No forsoothe," quoth the bishop. "How say *you* to that," quoth the king to my lord of

[5] *To you, my lord of Lincolne.*] John Longland. "In a manuscript Life of Sir Thomas More, written not many years after Longland's death, this account is given: 'I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his' (Longland's) 'chaplain and chancellor say, that he once told the bishop, what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort, as is said; but the king brake the matter to him first; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent. Of which his doings he did forethink himself, and repented afterward.' MSS. Coll. Eman. Cantab." Baker's Notes on Burnet's *History of the Reformation;* in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 400, Appendix. The same life is among the MSS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 827 (see fol. 12), and in the British Museum, Harleian 6253 (see fol. 19), and, there is reason to think, was composed about the year 1556, and by Nicolas Harpsfield. From these concurrent testimonies it should appear, that the charge which has been often urged against Wolsey, that it was through his intrigues that Longland first suggested his scruples to the king, is unfounded.

Caunturbury. "Sir, it is his hand, and his seale," said my lorde of Caunterbury. "No, my lorde," quoth the bishop of Rochester. "Indeede you were in hand with me to have bothe my hand and seale, as other of my lordes have done; but then I saide againe to you, I would never consent to any such acte, for it was much against my conscience; and therefore my hand and seale shall never be set to any such instrument, God willing, with much more matter touching the same communication betweene us." "You say truthe," quoth the bishop of Caunterbury, "such wordes you had unto me; but you were fully resolved at last, that I should subscribe your name, and put to your seale myselfe, and you would allowe the same." "All which," quoth the bishop of Rochester, "under your correction, my lord, is not true." "Well, well," quoth the king, "it maketh no great matter; we will not stand with you in argument: you are but one man."—And with that the king rose up, and the courte was adjourned untill an other day.

The next courte day the cardinall sat againe, at which time the councell on both sides were there ready presently to aunswer. The king's counsell alledged the matrimony not to be lawful at the beginning, because of the carnall copulation had betwene prince Arthur and the queene. This matter was very sore and vehemently touched on that side; and to prove the carnall copulation they alleadged many reasons and similitudes of truthe. And being aunswered againe negatively on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were very doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knewe the truth. "Yes," quoth the bishop of Rochester, "I knowe the truth." "How knowe you," quoth my lord cardinall, "more than any other person?" "Yes forsoothe my lorde," quoth he, "*Quia ego sum professor veritatis*,

therefore I knowe the truth. I know that God is truth itselfe, and he never sayeth but truth; and God saith, *quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.* And forasmuch as this marriage was joined and made by God to a good intent, I say that I knowe the truthe; and that men cannot break, upon any wilfull occaision, that which God hath made and constituted." "Soe much doe all faithful men," quoth my lord cardinall, "know as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case: for the king's counsell doe alleadge diverse presumptions, to prove that it was not lawfull at the beginning, *ergo*, it was not ordained by God, for God doeth nothing without a due order. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the presumptions be true, which they alleadge to be most true, then the conjunction was not, ne could be, of God. Therefore I say unto you, my lord of Rochester, ye know not the truthe, unless ye can avoide their presumption by just reasons." "Then," quoth one Doctor Ridley, "it is a shame and a great dishonour to this honorable presence, that any such presumptions should be alleadged in this open courte, which be too detestable to be rehearsed." "What," quoth my lord cardinall, "*Domine Doctor, magis reverenter.*" "No, no, my lord," quoth he, "there belongeth no reverence to be given to this matter; for an unreverent matter would be unreverently answered." And there they lefte, and proceeded forthe with other matter.

Thus this courte passed from session to session[6], and day to

[6] *From session to session.*]—"Pour le jour que nous eusmes, monsieur le legat et moy, nos disputes ensemble, nous demontasmes ung peu nous regardans de costé; le lendemain fusmes grands amys, et il me vint aprendre une longue histoire de tous ses actes qu'il avoit fait contre l'opinion et vouloir de toute Angleterre, et ce qu'il faisoit encore et avoit deliberé continuer de faire, qu'il luy falloyt user d'un terrible alquemye et dexterité en ses affaires; car il

day, till at a certaine day of their session the king sent for my lord cardinall to come to him to Bridewell; who to accomplish his commaundement went to him, and being there with him in communication in his privy chamber from an eleven untill twelve of the clocke at noone, and past, my lord departed from the king and toke his barge at the Blackfriars, and went to his house at Westminster. The bishop of Carlile[7] being in his barge at that time, saide unto him, (winding of his face,) "It is a very hot day." "Yea my lorde," quoth the cardinall, "if ye had bine as well chafed[8] as I have bine within this houre, ye would say it were

y avoit des gens qui l'esclairoient si près, qu'à la moindre occasion du monde qu'ils auroyent de calomnier ses dicts actes, et de montrer qu'il fust trop formel pour nostre party, oublyant le bien et proffit de son maistre, ils se y vouldroyent attacher s'il estoit possible qui ne seroyt nostre proffit, car là où il luy seroit diminué de son credit, nous en sentirions assez tost, et pour ce qu'on advise tousjours et qu'on pense bien que c'est que honnestement il peult faire, et que le roy et madame jugent que c'est qu'ils prendroient à bien etre fait pour leur amy, par celluy à qui ils auroient baillé la totalle charge de leurs affaires, et qu'ils n'en actendent plus que moins de luy, mais que quoy qu'il y ait, il faut qu'il dresse ainsi tous ses faits, qu'il puisse monstrer au roy son maistre et à son conseil, que ceste amitié ne leur est point desavantageuse, et qu'il est soigneux et diligent de penser à son bien et honneur, comme de fait il est, plusqu'à toutes aultres choses, ne voulant nyer, ains affermant suz tout ce qu'il tient de Dieu, que après le bien de son dit maistre il a le nostre en recommandation plus que nul autre." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, 10 Aug. (1528.) Le Grand, iii. 157.

[7] *Bishop of Carlile.*] John Kite, afterwards archbishop of Armagh.

[8] *As well chafed.*] "Au demourant j'ay sceu que mademoiselle de Boulan est retournée à la court; les lettres interceptées que m'envoyâtes de cette matière, leur ont donné à penser. On m'a dit à propos de ce qu'en avois dit à monsieur le Legat il y a plus d'ung mois comme vous escriviz, que je suis mauvais devin, et pour vous dire ma fantaisie je croy que le roy en est si avant, qu'aultre que Dieu ne l'en sçauroit oster. Quant à monsieur le legat, je pense qu'il ne sçayt pas bien où il en est, quelque dissimulation qu'il en faize, et m'a esté dict d'assez bon lieu, toutefois que je ne vouldroye bailler pour tout certain, que ung peu devant ce sutin (*this sweating sickness*), le

very hot." And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinent to his naked bed, where he had not lyen fully two houres, but that my lorde of Wiltshire, mistress Anne Bulleines father, came to speake with him of a message from the kinge. My lord, understanding of his comming, commaunded he should be brought to his bedde's side; and he being there shewed them the king's pleasure was, that he should incontinently goe with the other cardinall to the queene whoe was then in Bridewell, in her chamber there, to perswade with her by their wisdomes, and to advise her to surrender the whole matter unto the king's handes by her owne consent and will; which should be muche better to her honor, than to stande to the triall of lawe, and thereby to be condemned, which would seem much to her dishonour. To fulfill the king's pleasure, my lord saide, he was ready, and would prepare him to goe thither out of hande, but quoth he farther to my lord of Wiltshire, "Ye and other my lordes of the counsell, are not a little mis-advised, to put any such fantasy into the king's head, whereby you doe trouble all the realme; and at length get you shall small thankes for your laboures, both of God and the world," with many other vehement wordes and reasons, which caused my lord of Wiltshire to weepe [9], kneling by my lorde's bedde side, and in conclusion departed. And then my lord arose, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went streight to Bathe Place to cardinall Campeigne [1]; and so

roy *luy usa de terribles termes* à cause qu'il sembloit l'en vouloir refroidir, et luy monstrer que le pape ne se y vouloit condescendre." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, 20 Aug. 1528. Le Grand, iii. 164.

[9] *To weepe.*] "To be silent." MS. 250. Lamb. Libr.

[1] *To cardinall Campeigne.*] "Au demourant, monseigneur, je vous advise que Jeudy dernier fut apporté Campège faire la reverence au roy, et le print monsieur le legat en son logis en passant. Nous fusmes tous à reparer

they went together to Bridewell, directly to the queene's lodging; and being in her chamber of presence they shewed the gentleman usher that they came to speak with the queene's grace. The gentleman usher advertised the queene, that the cardinalls were come to speake with her. With that she rose up, and with a skaine of white thread about her necke, came into her chamber of presence, where the cardinalls were attending her comming. At whose comming, quoth she, "Alack my lordes, I am very sorry to make you attend upon me; what is your pleasure with

l'assistence, son sécrétaire feist une belle harengue, par laquelle après les deplorations de la ruine de Rome, et les grans et bons mercyemens des bons offres faits, tant auparavant la dite ruine que du depuis, à nostre Saint Père et tout le Saint Siège, par le Deffenseur de la Foy, et quelques exhortemens à la paix, il promit de la part de nostre-dit Saint Père que, tant en général qu'en particulier et mesmes ès affaires dont il luy avoit fait toucher, tout ce que ung bon fils peult et doibt actendre de grace d'ung très indulgent et liberal père, comme plus privément et à part luy diroient les deux cardinaux là presens envoyez par sa dicte saincteté pour les choses susdites. Il fut respondu par docteur Fouques, celluy qui à S. Paoul vous feist la harengue, bien assailly, bien deffendu, ils entrèrent en la chambre du roy, et furent longuement ensemble. Depuis le roy est venu plusieurs fois à privée compagnie veoir le dit cardinal, la royne pareillement une fois, monsieur le legat y est quasi tous les jours. Hier se commencèrent les approches, les deux cardinaux ensemble vinrent vers la dite royne qui ne leur faillyt de responce, se plaignant fort, sans touttefois en riens s'eschauffer, qu'ils vinssent pour la interroguer en si haulte et si près touchante matière, sans l'avoir advertye devant, ne donné loisir de prendre conseil, mesmes estant femme et estrangère; ils passèrent plus avant en matière et furent longtemps ensemble, y ayant toutefois appellé monsieur de Londres, l'evesque cordelier, monsieur de Cantorbery, et ung aultre. Ce jour a eu repos et n'a bougé monsieur le legat d'avec le roy en conseil, la pluspart du temps ils ont, à ce que je voy, assez affaire, si tiens-je, quoy qu'aucuns disent qu'ils passeront oultre et le plustost qu'ils pourront. Je croy bien que Campège vouldroit differer, mais la matière est trop chaude." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, Dat. London, 18 Oct. 1528. Le Grand, iii. 189.

mee?" "If it please your grace," quoth my lorde, "to goe into your privy chamber, we will shewe you the cause of our comming." "My lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speake it openly before all these folkes; for I feare nothing that ye can say or alleadge against me, but that I would all the worlde should bothe heare and see it: and therefore speake your minds openly, I pray you." Then began my lorde to speake to her in Latine. "Nay good my lorde," quoth she, "speake to me in Englishe, for I can, I thanke God, both speake and understande English; although I doe understande some Latine." "Forsoothe," quoth my lord, "good Madame, we come bothe to knowe, if it please your grace, your minde, how you are disposed to doe in this matter betweene the king and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions and counsell unto you, which we doe only for very zeale and obedience we beare unto your grace." "My lord," quoth she, "I thanke you for your good will; but to make an aunswer to your requestes I cannot so sodainly, for I was set among my maides at worke, thinking full little of any such mattere, wherein there nedeth a longe deliberation, and a better heade than mine, to make aunswer; for I nede of counsell in this case, which toucheth mee too neare; and for any counsell or friendship that I can find in Englande, they are not for my proffit. What thinke you, I pray you, my lordes; will any Englishman counsell me, or be friendly to me against the king's pleasure, that is his subject? Nay forsoothe: and as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here; they be in Spaine in mine own country. Also my lordes, I am a poore woman lacking wit, to aunswer to any such noble persons of wisdome, as ye be, in so weighty a matter. Therefore I pray you be good unto me, a poore woman destitute and barren of

friendship here in a forraine country: and your counsell also I will be glad to heare."

And therewith she toke my lord cardinall by the hande, and led him into her privie chamber, with the other cardinall; where they tarried a season talking with the queene, and we might hear her very loude, but what she said we could not tell. The communication ended, they departed and went to the king, making to him relation of her talke; and after returned home to their houses to supper.

Thus this strange case went forwarde from courte to courte, untill it came to the judgment, so that every man expected the judgment would be given the next court day. At which day the king came thither, and sat him downe in a chaire, within a dore in the ende of the gallery, which opened directly against the judgment seate, to heare the judgment given; at which time all their proceedings were openly read in Latine. That done, the kings counsell at the barre, called fast for judgment. With that, quoth cardinall Campaine, "I will not give judgement[2] till I have made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commaundement in this case I will observe. The matter is too highe for us to give any hasty judgement, considering the highness of the persons, and the doubtful occasions alleadged; and also whose commisioners we be, under whose authority we sit. It were therefore reason, that we should make our chiefe head of counsell in the same, before we procede to judgement definitive. I come not to speake for favour, mede, or dread of any person alive, be he king or otherwise. I have no such respect to the person that I will offend my conscience. I

[2] *Will not give judgement.*] Compare Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 333 and 338, 9. The date is July 23, 1529.

will not for the favour or displeasure of any highe estate doe that thing that should be against the will of God. I am an ould man, bothe weake and sickly, that loketh daily for deathe. What should it availe me to put my soule in daunger of Gods displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? My being here is only to see justice ministred according to my conscience, which thing myselfe doe also most desyer. And forasmuch as I doe understande, having perceivance by the allegations in the matter, the case is very doubtful, and also the party defendaunt will make no aunswer here, but doth rather appeale from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the kings high dignity and authority within his owne realme which he hath over his subjects; and we being his subjects, she thinketh that we cannot doe justice for feare of displeasure; therefore to avoide all these ambiguities and doubts, I will not damne my soule for any prince or potentate alive. Therefore, I intend not to wade any farther in this matter, unles I have the just opinion and assent of the pope, and such other of more auncient experience, or as be sene better in such doubtful laws, than I am. Wherefore I will adjourne this courte, for this time, according to the order of the courte of Rome, from whence semblably our jurisdiction is derived. And if we should goe further than our commision doeth warrant us, it were great folly and much to our blames: and we may be breakers of the order of the high courte from which (as I said) our authorities be derived."—And with that the courte was dissolved, and no more done.

Then stept forthe the duke of Suffolke[3] from the kinge, by his

[3] *The duke of Suffolke.*] Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law. These proceedings led the way to the next great step in the

commaundement, and spake with an hault countenaunce these wordes, "It was never merry in Englande," (quoth he,) "while

progress of the Reformation, the renunciation of the pope's authority, and the establishment of the regal supremacy. The following account of the manner in which these questions were first brought to the king's mind may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"Now unto that you say, that because pope Clement would not dispense with his second matrimonie, his majestie extirped out of England the papal authoritie, a thinge of most auncient and godly reverence as you take it, I aunsweare that after the kinges highness had so appeared in person before the cardinal Campegio, one of the princes of his realme, named the *duke of Suffolk*, a great wise man, and of more familiaritie with the kinge, than any other person, asked his majestie 'how this matter might come to passe, that a prince in his own realme should so humble himself before the feet of a vile, strange, vitious priest,' (for Campegio there in England demeaned himself in very deed most carnally ——). Whereunto the king aunswered, 'he could not tell; but only that it seemed unto him, the spiritual men ought to judge spiritual matters; and yet as you saye (sayd the king) me seemeth there should be somewhat in it, and I would right gladly understand, why and how, were it not that I would be loth to appeare more curious than other princes.' 'Why sir (sayd the duke) your majestie may cause the matter to be discussed secretly by your learned men, without any rumour at all.' 'Very well (sayd the kinge), and so shall it be.' And thus inspired of God, called he diverse of his trusty and great doctours unto him: charging them distinctly to examine, *what lawe of God should directe so carnal a man as Campegio, under the name of spiritual, to judge a king in his owne realme.* According unto whose commandment, these doctors resorting together into an appointed place, disputed this matter *largè et strictè*, as the case required. And as the blacke by the white is knowen, so by conferring the oppositions together, it appeared that the evangelical lawe varied much from the canon lawes in this pointe. So that in effect, because two contraries cannot stand *in uno subjecto, eodem casu et tempore*, they were constrained to recurre unto the kinges majesties pleasure, to knowe whether of these two lawes should be preferred, who smiling at the ignorance of so fonde a question aunsweared, that the gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others; commanding them therefore to followe the same, without regard either to the civile, canon, or whatsoever other lawe. And here began the quicke: for these doctours had no sooner taken the gospel for their absolute rule, but

we had any cardinalls [4] amongst us :" which wordes were set forthe bothe with countenaunce and vehemency, that all men marvailed

they found this popish authoritie over the kinges and princes of this earth to be usurped: for Peter hymself, whose successor the pope presumeth to be, commaundeth all Christians to obey and honour kynges or princes with feare and reverence, because the kynges of the earth are ordeyned of God; and so sayth Paul, and so sayth Solomon: and so Chryst hymselfe by example hath commaunded, when entryng into Capernaum, he humbled hymself unto the payment of the princes custome. And if Peter, Paul, Solomon, and Christ hym self (sayd they) have directed us to the obedience of kynges in the tyme when there was no *Christian* kynge in the world, how much more *now* ought all Christians to obey their princes absolutely, *when* they, the kynges themselves are not onely membres of the selfe body of Christ, butt also ministeres of the Christian justice. And what greater dishonour (sayde they) can a kynge receyve, than in his owne realme to be made a subjecte, and to appere not before another vertuous kynge, or emperor, but before one growne of a dung-hill, to answere in judgment? Thys (sayde they) proceeded not of the divine law, but rather the contrary, for as much as the spiritual office of the Christian religion procedeth altogether by charitable counsaile. From their just and evangelical conclusion his highness resolved of that he had to do, with patience of his passed errour, he licensed the sayde Cardinal Campegio to return to Rome, not so highly rewarded as the sayde Cardinal loked for, nor yet with such commission, as pope Clement thought should have mended hys hungrye purse, for the new lycence that he had prepared unto the kynges second marriage. For, incontinently after Campegio's departure, the kynge assailed in conscience of his first divorced matrimonye, both by the law of God, and also by the publique consent of the whole church of England, and hys Barons, and hys Commons, proceded unto his second matrymonye, without further bribe or sute unto the pope, so that Clement seyng hys lyne broken, and the fish escaped with the hooke or bayte, like a mad ragyng dog vomited his fulminacions, and by consistorial sentence excommunicated both kynge and country; affirmyng that the kynge began to rebell agaynst the Romayne see, for none other reason but because hys holy fatherhed woulde not graunte hym the licence of the new mariage; and with this new blesyng brought the kynge in slaunder of the ignoraunt supersticious world." William Thomas's *Apology for king Henry the Eighth*, written A.D. 1547, p. 34. Lambeth Library, MS. No. 464. The original, in the author's own hand, is in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespas. D. xviii. [The

what he intended: to whome no man made aunswer. Then the duke spake againe in great despight. To the which my lord cardinal perceiving his vehemency, soberly maide aunswer, and saide, "Sir, of all men within this realme, ye have least cause to dispraise cardinalls: for, if I, poore cardinall, had not bine, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherewith you might make any such bragge, in despight of us, who intend you no manner of damage; neither have we given

The work has been printed under the title of the "Works of William Thomas, Clerk of the Privy Council in the year 1549, by Abraham D'Aubant, Esq., London. 1774." 8vo. The passage here quoted will be found pp. 28—33.

In further pursuance of the main object of this note, we may remark, that Lord Herbert, after describing the dismissal of the suits by "the sudden advocation of the cause to the pope, and the inhibiting further proceedings in England," subjoins a hint, that "the *consequences* thereof extended further yet than *our king then thought, or the pope would easily have imagined.*" *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 334. 8vo.—The people too began to sympathize with the king as an aggrieved person, and to resent the neglect and insult to the nation by these subterfuges and delays, as in a case in which the stability of the succession, and with that the peace and welfare of the whole kingdom, were deeply interested. Hence the House of Lords, in a Declaration to the Pope (July, 1530), subscribed by their own hands and seals, significantly reminded him, (after complaining how long they had fruitlessly and in vain sought redress,) that the affair "will not be wholly desperate, since *it is possible to find relief some other way. Desperate remedies* indeed are not without extremity to be applied; but he that is sick, *will by any means get rid of his distemper.*" Ibid. p. 344.—The Pope a "distemper," plainly indicated the probability of an approaching crisis.

[4] *While we had any cardinalls.*] The intrigues and other evils which cardinals brought along with them wherever they came, had involved their name in a degree of proverbial disrepute. Even so early as the days of Piers Ploughman, written by Robert Longlande, about 1360, we learn, that there was a general outcry against them.

"The commune *clamat quotidie*, ech a man to other,
The contry is the cursseder that cardinals comen in."
Vision of Piers Ploughman, fol. 110. edit. 1550.

you any cause, to be with such despight offended. I would you knew it my lord, I and my brother here intend the king and this realme, as much honor, wealthe, and quietness, as you or any other, of what degree soever he be, within this realme; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desire. Sir, I pray you my lord, shew me what you would doe in case you were the kings commisioner in a forraine country, having a very weighty matter to treat on: and upon the doubtful conclusion thereof, would you not advertise the kings majesty or ere ye went through with the same? Yes, I doubt not. Therefore put your hasty malice and despight away, and consider that we be but commisioners for a time, and cannot, ne may not, by virtue of our commision procede to judgement, without the knowledge and consent of the heade of our authority, and licence of him obtained; which is the pope. Therefore we doe neither more nor lesse than our warrant will beare us; and if any man will be offended with us therefore, he is an unwise man. Therefore hold your peace, my lord, and pacify yourselfe, and speak like a man of honor and wisdome, and speak not so quickly or reproachfully to your friends; for you know best what friendship[5] I have shewed you, which I never yet revealed to any person alive before nowe, neither to my glory, nor to your dishonor." And therewith the duke gave over the matter, without any further wordes or aunswer, and went his way.

This matter continued thus a longe season, and my lord

[5] *You know best what friendship.*] Alluding to the exercise of his influence upon Henry, to reconcile that monarch to the duke's marriage with his sister, the queen of France. For an account of this great obligation of the duke of Suffolk to the cardinal, see Grove's *History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 254.

cardinall was in displeasure [6] with the king, for that the matter in his sute toke no better successe to his purpose: notwithstanding, my lord excused him by his commision, which gave him no authority to procede in judgement, without knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himselfe.

At the last they were advertised by their post, that the pope would take deliberation in the matter, until his courtes opened, which should not be before Bartholmewe tide next [7]. The king considering the same too long before it should be determined, thought it good to send an ambassador to the pope, to perswade with him to shewe such honorable favor to his majesty, that the matter might sooner be ended, than it was like to be, or else at the next courte to rule the matter over, according to his request.

To this embassage [8] was appointed doctor Stephen Gardiner,

[6] *Was in displeasure.*] Compare Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 338, 9.

[7] *Bartholmewe tide next.*] August 24th, 1529.

[8] *To this embassage.*] "Monseigneur, actendant de fermer mon pacquet au partement de la marée, ay eu d'assez bon lieu que la charge du docteur Stephen est, entre autre chose, de dire à nostre Saint Père que s'il ne fait proceder le cardinal Campège à ce divorce, et s'en depescher, le roy d'Angleterre se levera de son obeïssance, et qu'il le tienne pour tout certain, qui est chose correspondante à ce que vous mets dans mes lettres: le dict Campège m'estoit venu ce jour surprendre en mon logis, en ce quoy eu le loisir de luy parler à part; j'ai mis peine de l'enfoncer en cette matière, mais je voy bien qu'il n'ose parler, qui me fait presumer que par aventure le dit Stephen ne vous aura aussi voulu tout dire, toutefois, s'il l'aura fait, j'ay pensé ne pouvoir faillir à vous en dire ce que j'en puis penser et entendre. Et croyez monseigneur, que monsieur le legat est en grande peine, car la chose en est si avant, que si elle ne vient en effet, le roy son maistre s'en prendra à luy, et là où elle s'achevera encore void il qu'il aura à faire à forte partie. M. Cheny que connoissez, avoit offensé ces jours passez le dit legat, et pour ce étoit mis hors de la cour; la damoiselle l'y a remis, voulsist ou non, et s'il n'a

then called by the name of doctor Stephens, and secretary to the king, who after was made bishop of Winchester. This doctor Stephens went thither, and there tarried till the latter end of sommer, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Then the king commanded the queene to be removed out of the courte, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in his progress, with Mrs. Anne Bullen in his company[9] all that season.

It was so that the cardinall Campaigne made sute to be dis-

eté sans luy mander rudes paroles, pensez que ce pourra estre après l'effet. Le duc de Norfolk et sa bande commencent desja à parler gros, toutefois ils ont affaire à plus fin qu'eux sans datte." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, early in Jan. 1529. Le Grand, iii. 295. From Lyons, on the 31st Jan., Gardiner wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, about the pope's illness, and the consequences that would attend his death.

[9] *In his company.*] The way for this had been gradually preparing:

"Le roy est encores allant et venant de Grinvich icy, je croy bien qu'il pourra faire ung voyage à Hampton-court ou Richemont, et la royne pareillement, et pourra bien estre qu'elle ne retournera icy de long temps. Madamoiselle de Boulan à la fin y est venuë, et l'a le roy logée en fort beau logis, et qu'il a faict bien accoustrer tout auprès du sien, et luy est la cour faicte ordinairement tous les jours plus grosse que de long temps elle ne fut faicte à la royne. Je croy bien qu'on veult accoustumer par les petiz ce peuple à l'endurer, afin que quand viendra à donner les grans coups, il ne les trouve si estrange; toutefois il demoure tous jours endurcy, et croy bien qu'il feroit plus qu'il ne faict, si plus il avoit de puissance, mais grand ordre se donne journellement par tout." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, Dat. London, 9 Dec. 1528. Le Grand, iii. 231. "Toute la cour s'est retirée à Grinvich, et se tient maison ouverte, tant chez le roy que chez la royne, comme elle a accoustumé les aultres années, aussi y est mademoiselle de Boulan ayant son cas à part, qui ne se trouvera, comme je croy, guères avec la dite royne, et suys d'avis que les choses demoureront en ceste sorte jusques au retour de maistre Bryant, et en ce propos est le Cardinal Campège, lequel me semble avoir bonne voulenté en l'expedition de l'affaire, s'il trouve le Pape content." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, Dat. London, 25 Dec. 1528. Le Grand, iii. 260. Du Bellay's letter of the 15th June, 1529, is very explicit.

charged, that he might returne to Rome. Then it chaunced that Mr. secretary[1] was retourned home[2] from thence; where-

[1] *Mr. secretary.*] Stephen Gardiner. See note at p. 126.

[2] *Retourned home.*] Whence he wrote to the ambassadors at Rome thus:— "Albeit ye be nowe advertised, as wel by this post as other lettres to you bifore directed, howe ye shal demeane yourself in the letting of the advocation of his graces cause at th' emperours agents or the quenes pursute. Yet, I thought convenient by these my lettres to advertise youe that this advocation of the cause is gretly pondred, and considred here not oonly with the kings grace, but also with al other nobles of the realme; for in case the pope, as God forbydde, shulde advocate the said cause, not only therby the king's grace and all his nobles shulde decline from the pope and see apostolique, but also the same shulde redounde to my lord cardinall our commen masters utter undoing. I doubte not therfor ye will forsee that matier accordingly, and whereas by the kings lettres to youe directed synnes my departing thens, it wos advised and instructed to make an appellation and protestacion *tanquam a non vicario ad verum vicarium Jh'u Christi*, because the kings highnes perceyvith by your lettres wryten in cifre to his grace, that the said appellation might irritate the popes holynes and rather hindre his cause thenne doo good. His pleasur therfor is that ye shal forbere to make any such protestacion or appellation notwithstanding any clause conteyned in his said lettres to the contrary, but that ye shal by al dulce and plesaunte meanes enterteyne the popes holynes in good benevolence and favor towards the king's highness; for that by exasperating him he doo noon acte anewe in the derogation of his commission and processe to be made therupon here." Letter from Steven Gardyner to Sir Gr. de Cassalis and Peter Vannes, Dat. Westminster, 25th June (1529). III. Ellis, ii. 157.

That Gardiner was right as to Wolsey's danger, is shewn by Du Bellay, writing to Montmorency, at the end of May, as follows:

"Je vous asseure, monseigneur, que monsieur le Cardinal d'Yorc est en la plus grant peine qu'il fut oncques. Les ducs de Suffolk et Norfolk et les autres mettent le roy d'Angleterre en opinion, qu'il n'a tant avancé le mariage qu'il eust fait, s'il eust voulu, et plus grant plaisir ne luy scauroient faire le roy et madame que de donner par bons moyens à entendre au duc de Suffolk et à son compagnon, qu'il les a terriblement poursuivis de prendre la chose en main jusques à cette heure, il s'en fault beaucoup par la raison dessus dite qu'il manie le roy d'Angleterre comme il a fait. Ils se trouvent par leurs derniers lettres de Rome en moindre seureté qu'ils n'estoient,

upon it was concluded that cardinall Campaigne should come to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and to be conducted by my lord cardinall. And so they toke their journey from the Moore [3] thitherward, and were lodged the first night at a towne in Bedfordshire, called Leighton Bussarde, in the parsonage there, being Mr. doctor Chambers's benefice, the kings phisition. And from thence they rode the next day, which was Sonday, to Grafton [4]; before whose comming, there rose diverse opinions in

pource ils renvoyent en poste le docteur Benet, prians, requerans, menassans, etc. Je sçay de vray que le Pape est en grant fantaisie, plusqu'ils ne pensent, de revoquer leur commission. Ils vouloient qu'il declarast dez cette heure le brief ampliatif estre nul, ce qu'il n'a voulu faire: sur le dit brief giest un des grands neuf de la matière; ils font leur compte que la dite matière entamée ne durera que deux mois: je vous responds qu'elle en durera plus de quatre." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, Dat. London, 29 May, 1529. Le Grand, iii. 313.

[3] *From the Moore.*] This was on the 18th of September. The manor of the Moore, in Rickmansworth, anciently belonged to the abbey of St. Alban's, and afterwards to George Neville, archbishop of York, from whom it was seized by Edward IV. in 1472. Henry VII. granted it to John de Vere, earl of Oxford, with remainder to the issue of his countess Margaret, daughter of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick and Salisbury. On the death of Oxford in 1513, without issue, the Moore reverted to the crown. How it came to Wolsey is not known; whether he held it by grant, or whether he claimed it as parcel of the ancient possessions of the abbey of St. Albans, which he held *in commendam.* It is certain that he sometimes resided there, and there were concluded the treaties of the 30th Aug. 1525 (see p. 66). On his disgrace it reverted to the crown. After various grants and reversions, it was finally given by James I., in 1614, to Edward Russell, third earl of Bedford, whose countess, Lucy Harington, sold it to the earl of Pembroke. It has often since changed owners: amongst them have been the duke of Monmouth, who built a house there; a speculator in the South Sea fraud, who built the present house; lord Anson, who planted the well-known Moor-park apricot; Sir Thomas Dundas, &c. It now belongs, by purchase, to the Grosvenor family.

[4] *Grafton.*] The manor of Grafton had belonged to the Widviles, earls

the courte, that the king would not speake with my lord cardinall; whereupon were laied many great wagers.

These two prelates being come to the gates of the courte, they lighted from their horses, supposing they should have been received by the head officers of the household; howbeit it fell out nothing so. Nevertheless, for as much as cardinall Campaigne was but a straunger, the sayd officers met him, with their white staves in their handes, in the base courte, and so conveied him to his lodging prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed thinking to have gone likewise directly to his chamber, as he was wont to doe. Then it was told him, that he had no chamber nor lodging ordained or appointed him in the courte. Being astonied with this newes, sir Henry Norris, which was then grome of the stole to the king, came unto him, desiring his grace to take his chamber for the time, untill another might be provided for him, "For sir, I assure you," quoth he, "here is very little roome in this house for the king; therefore I beseech your grace to accept mine for the season." And therewith my lord, thanking him for his gentleness, went streight to Mr. Norris's chamber, where he shifted his riding apparel; and in the meane while, being thus in his chamber, diverse of the noblemen and gentlemen, being his loving freindes,

Rivers, and it was in the manor-house there that Edward IV. first saw Elizabeth Widvile, widow of Sir John Grey, whom he afterwards married. Her grandson Thomas, the second marquess of Dorset, surrendered Grafton, Hertwell, etc. in 1527, to Henry VIII., in exchange for Loughborough and Shepsheved, in Leicestershire. Henry, as we see, was much pleased with his acquisition, and, by act of parliament, passed in his 33rd year (1541-2), Grafton, with Hertwell and many other manors, was erected into an honour, by the name of Grafton Regis. Charles II. gave it to his son by Barbara Villiers, duchess of Cleveland, from whom the present duke of Grafton inherits it.

came to welcome him to the courte, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the kings favor or displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; for being admonished of the cause of the kings displeasure, he was the more ready to make his excuse against the same.

Then was my lord advertised that he should prepare himselfe to goe into the chamber of presence, there to attend the kings comming, who was disposed there to talke with him. The other cardinall came into my lords chamber, and bothe together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lordes of the counsell stode all in a rowe in order along the chamber. My lord cardinall, putting off his cappe, spake to every of them most gently, and soe did they no lesse to him: at which time the chamber was furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, and others, that expected the meting, countenaunce, and enterteinement of the king towardes my lord cardinall.

Then immediately after, the king came into the chamber of presence, and standing under the clothe of estate, my lord cardinall toke cardinall Campaigne by the hande, and kneled downe before the king: but what he said unto him I know not: nevertheless the king, as amyably as ever he did before, stooped downe, and with both his handes toke him up, and after toke him aside by the hand, and led him to the windowe, where he talked with him.

Then, to behold the countenaunce of the noblemen and others, that had made their wagers, it would have made you smile; and specially of those that laid their money, that the king would not speake with him. Thus were they deceived. The king was in earnest and long communication with him, in so much as I might heare the king say, "How can that be; is not this your owne

hand?" and pulled a letter or writing out of his bosome, and shewed the same to my lord: and as I perceived my lord aunswered the same, that the king had no more to say; but said to him, "My lord goe to dinner, and call my lordes here to keepe you company; and after dinner I will come to you againe, and then we will common further with you;" and so departed, and dined himselfe that day with Mrs. Anne Bullen in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the chamber of presence a table for my lord, and other lordes of the counsell, where they dined together, sitting at dinner and commoning of divers matters. "The king should doe well," quoth my lord cardinall, "to send his bishops and chapleines home to their cures and benefices." "Yea Mary," quoth my lord of Norfolke [5], "and so it were mete for you to doe also." "I should be well content therewith," quoth my lord, "if it were the kings pleasure to licence me, with his graces favor, to goe to my benefice at Winchester." "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "to your benefice at Yorke, whereas is your greatest honor and charge." "Even as it shall please the king," quoth my lord cardinall, and so fell into other matters. For the lordes were lothe he should be so neare the king as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to counsell untill the waiters had dined.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited on the king at dinner, mistress Anne Bullen was much offended, as farre as she durst, that the king did so gently entertaine my lord cardinall, saying as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication of

[5] *Lord of Norfolke.*] Thomas Howard, third duke, who had succeeded his father in 1524.

my lord, "Sir," quoth she, "is it not a marvellous thing to see, what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How soe sweeteharte?" quoth the king, "Forsothe," quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realme, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you to him;" (meaning a loane which the king had of his subjects). "Well," quoth the king, "as for that, there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay sir," quoth she, "besides that, what things hath he wrought within this realme to your great slander? There is never a nobleman, but if he had done halfe so much as *he* hath done, he were well worthy to lose his heade. Yea, if my lord of Norfolke, my lord of Suffolke, my lord my father, or any other nobleman within your realme, had done much lesse than he hath done, they should have lost their heades 'eare this."

"Then I perceive," quoth the king, "you are not the cardinalls friende?" "Why sir," saith she, "I have no cause[6], nor any that loveth you: no more have your grace, if ye consider well his doings."

By that time the waiters toke up the table, and so ended their communication. Nowe ye may perceive howe the olde malice began to kindle, and to be set on fire, which was as much provoked by his auncient enemies (of whome I touched the cause, and named to you the persons before in this treatise) as of herselfe.

Well, there is no more to doe, but after all this communication, and the dinner thus ended, the king departed from her, and went directly into his chamber of presence, whereas my lord and

[6] *I have no cause.*] See p. 58.

the other lords were attending his comming. And when the king was come into the chamber of presence, he called my lord unto him into the great windowe, and talked with him a while very secreetely. And at the last, the kinge tooke him by the hand, and led him into his privy chamber, sitting in consultation with him there all alone consulting without any other of the lords of the counsell, untill it was dark night; which blancked his enemies very sore, and made them to stirre coals; and being in doubt of themselves, they had no other refuge but mistress Anne, in whom was all their whole truste and affiaunce, to the accomplishing of their enterprize; for without her they doubted all their purpose was but frustrate.

Then was I warned that there was no roome for my lord in the courte; and so was faine to provide him a lodging in the country there about, which I found at a house of Mr. Empson's called Euston [7], about three miles from Grafton, wheither my lord came to supper, by torche light, it was so late ere he departed from the king. At whose departing the king willed him to resorte againe the sooner in the morning, for that he would talke with him farther in such matters as they had commoned on before.

[7] *Euston.*] Euston is near Thetford in Norfolk: the place here meant is Easton Neston, near Towcester, in Northamptonshire: it was purchased, 23 Henry VII., from Richard, lord Grey de Ruthyn, by the noted Sir Richard Empson, one of the barons of the exchequer under Henry VII., whose agent he had been, in conjunction with Dudley, for oppressing the people to enrich the king's coffers. One of Henry VIII.'s first popular acts was to condemn both. Empson was tried and condemned at Northampton, but was executed with Dudley at London. Easton Neston and Towcester were granted by Henry VIII. to Sir William Compton, who died of the sweating sickness, in 1528. After a short time, Easton Neston was purchased by Richard Fermor, a merchant, ancestor of the earl of Pomfret to whom it now belongs. Wolsey slept here on the 19th of Sept.

After my lord was departed from the king, and come to Euston to his lodging, he had to supper with him diverse of his freindes of the court; and sitting at supper, in came doctor Stephens, the king's secretary, whoe was late ambassador to Rome; but to what intent I know not: howbeit my lorde toke it, that he came either to dissemble a love towards him, or else to espy his behaviour, and to heare his communication at supper. Whereupon my lorde went to him, and bade him welcome, and willed him to sit downe at the table to supper, having all his communication with him, under this manner. "Mr. secretary," quoth he, "ye be welcome home from Rome; when came ye home?" "Forsoothe," quoth he, "I came home almost a monthe[8]

[8] *Almost a monthe*] There is every reason to think that the mistrust which Wolsey felt of Gardiner was well founded. Gardiner returned from his embassy in June, and instead of *almost a month*, he had been in England *three months* before this conversation took place. It could have been no inadvertent answer which he now gave. Gardiner was in Wolsey's secrets: on the 31st of January, he had written from Lyons to the Cardinal about the illness and expected death of Clement VII., and Wolsey, on the 7th of February, had opened his mind to Gardiner as to the obtaining the Papal Chair. Long instructions, *signed by Henry*, were also sent, at the same time and to the same end; and G. G. di Passano, then at Rome, was specially ordered by Francis to co-operate with Gardiner on Wolsey's behalf. Clement recovered, and Wolsey's ambitious hopes were once more defeated. On Gardiner's return in June, he wrote to his colleagues at Rome that he foresaw the Cardinal's approaching downfall, and although he wrote to Wolsey from court on the 10th of August and on the 1st and 8th of September, he did not come near him. For this studied absence there must have been reasons. Being secretary to the king, Gardiner in all probability had communicated to him Wolsey's proceedings; Wolsey certainly suspected his present visit to be that of a spy. Indeed it may have been Gardiner, rather than Bryan, who placed in Henry's hands the fatal papers with which he charged the Cardinal; "How can that be? Is not this your own hand?" The keen and penetrating eye of Du Bellay saw that "Dr. Stephen" would take a great lead in affairs, "especially if he would throw his cassock in the dirt," for no priest would get

ago." "And where have you bine," quoth my lord, "ever since?" "Forsoothe sir," quoth he, "following the court in this progresse." "Then have you hunted, and had great pastime," quoth my lord. "So I have had sir," quoth he. "What good great houndes have you?" quoth my lord. "I have some, sir," quoth he. And thus in hunting, and like disportes, passed they all their communication at supper; and after supper my lord and he talked secretly together, till it was midnight ere they sundred.

The next morning my lord rose earely and rode to the courte [9]; at whose comming the king was ready to ride, willing my lord to counsell with the lordes in his absence, and saide he would not tarry with him, commanding my lord to retourne againe with cardinall Campaigne, who had taken his leave of the king. Upon which occasion my lord was constrained to take his leave of the king [1] also, with whome the king departed amyably in the sight of all men. This sodein departing in the morning was by the especiall labour of Mrs. Anne, who rode with him, only to lead him away, because he should not retourne until the departure of the cardinalls, the which retourned after dinner to the Moore.

The king rode that morning to view a place and ground to make a newe parke, which was afterwardes, and is at this day called Harewell Parke [2], where Mistress Anne had provided a

the seal: the priests would have enough to do for themselves. In that opinion Du Bellay was right: Sir Thomas More, and not Stephen Gardiner, was made lord chancellor.

[9] *The courte.*] At Grafton.

[1] *To take his leave of the king.*] His *final* leave. They never met again.

[2] *Harewell Parke.*] Or rather Hartwell, close to Grafton. See note at p. 149. This was on the 20th Sept.

place for his grace to dine, fearing his retourne [3], ere the cardinalls were gone.

Then rode my lorde and the other cardinall after dinner on their way homewarde, and so came to St. Albones [4], and there lay one day; and the next day they rode together to the Moore; and from thence cardinall Campeignes toke his journey towards Rome, with the kings rewarde; but what it was I am uncertaine. Nevertheless, after their departure, it was reported to the king

[3] *Fearing his retourne.*] "Le pis de son mal est que mademoiselle de Boulen a faict promettre à son amy qu'il ne l'escoutera jamais parler; car elle pense bien qu'il ne le pourroit garder d'en avoir pitié."—Bp. of Bayonne to Montmorency, 17th Oct. 1529. Le Grand, iii. 375.

[4] *St. Albones.*] From here, on the 23rd Sept., Thomas Alward, keeper of Wolsey's wardrobe, wrote a letter to Cromwell, with an account of the cardinal's reception at Grafton. Alward says, that Wolsey had two interviews with the king on the *second* day. "On Monday, in the mornyng, my lord, leving the legat at his logyng, went again unto the kyng's grace, and after long talkyng in his privie chamber togeder, the kyng, my lord, and all the hole counsaile sat togeder all that for'none aboute the kyngs matiers and affaires. In the after none, my lords grace having then with hym the legat Campegius, went to the kyng's grace, and, after talkyng and communication had a long whilis with the legat a parte, they both toke ther leve of the kyngs highnes, in as good fascion and maner, and with as moche gentilnes, as ever I saw bifor. *This don, the kyngs grace went huntyng.* The legate retourned to maister Empson, and my lords grace taried ther in counsaile til it was darke nyght. Further mor my lord of Suffolke, my lord of Rochford, maister Tuke, and master Stevyns did as gently . . . have theymselfs, with as moche observaunce and humy (lyte to) my lords grace as ever I sawe theym do at any (time here) to for. What they bere in ther harts I knowe not. Of the premissis I have seen with mine ies." Lingard prefers the narrative of Cavendish. "Both were present, but though Alward's account was written immediately, there is this to detract from its credit, that it was written to enable Cromwell to contradict the report that Wolsey had left the king in disgrace." vi. 157. Alward's letter is printed, I. Ellis, i. 307, where by mistake the interview is said to have been at *Greenwich*, instead of Grafton. The two cardinals slept at St. Alban's on the 20th Sept.

by the counsell, that cardinall Campeigne was departed, and carried with him great treasures of my lord cardinalls of England, to be conveied in great sommes to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretely repaire out of this realme. Insomuch as they caused a post to ride after the cardinall to search him[5]. And when they overtoke him at Callis[6], where he was staied untill search was made, there was not found so much mone yas he received of the kings rewarde; and so he was dismissed and went his way.

And after that cardinal Campeigne was thus departed and gone, Michaelmas terme drewe on, against which time my lord cardinall resorted unto his house[7] at Westminster; and when the

[5] *To search him.*] "When he came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers; not without hope to recover that decretal bull our king so much longed for. I find also, by some relations, that *divers love-letters betwixt our king and Mrs. Bullen*, being conveyed out of the king's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain; *they having been formerly sent to Rome.* Which usage so offended Campeius, that he complained immediately to the king."—Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 339. The king's love-letters forsooth (and *such* love-letters!) stolen from his private cabinet, and carried off to Rome? Wherefore this; but because fish of whatever kind was fair game for the net of the Vatican fisherman, the self-styled successor of St. Peter, and, so-called, vicar of Christ? *Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.* We in England possess these letters, ages after, only from the pope's *stolen* copy. See *Harleian Miscellany*, &c.

[6] *At Callis.*] Lingard says that he was searched *at Dover* on Oct. 1st. Du Bellay, writing from London, on the 12th of October, to Montmorency, says, "Le cardinal Campege est encores *à Douvres*, et à ceste heure viens d'entendre que soulz couleur de faute de navires, on ne le veult laisser passer sans y prendre advis, de paeur qu'il n'emporte le thresor du cardinal d'Yorc." Le Grand, iii. 369.

[7] *Resorted unto his house.*] His state at this time is well described by Du Bellay:—"Au demourent, j'ay esté voir le Cardinal en ses ennuis, où que j'y ay trouvé le plus grand exemple de fortune que on ne sçauroit voir; il m'a remonstré son cas en la plus mauvaise réthorique que je viz jamais, car cueur

tearme began, he went unto the hall, in such like sorte and gesture as he accustomed most commonly to doe, and sat in the chauncery being then chauncellor. After which day he never sate more [8]. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the

et parole lui failloient entièrement: il a bien plouré et prié que le roy et madame voulsissent avoir pitié de luy, s'ils avoyent trouvé qu'il leur eust guardé promesse de leur estre bon serviteur autant que son honneur et pouvoir se y est peu estendre, mais il me a à la fin laissé *sans me pouvoir dire autre chose qui vallist mieux que son visaige, qui est bien descheu de la moitié de juste pris, et vous promets, monseigneur, que sa fortune est telle que ses ennemis, encores qu'ils soyent Angloys, ne se sçauroyent guarder d'en avoir pitié;* ce nonobstant ne laisseront de le poursuivre jusques au bout, et ne voyt de moyen de son salut, aussi ne fais-je, sinon qu'il plaise au roy et à madame de l'ayder. *De legation, de sceau d'auctorité, de credit, il n'en demande point; il est prest de laisser tout jusques à la chemise, et que on le laisse vivre en ung hermitaige, ne le tenant ce roy en sa malle grace.* Je l'ay reconforté au mieulx que j'ay peu, mais je n'y ay sceu faire grant chose; depuys par un en qui il se fie, il m'a mandé ce qu'il vouldroit qu'on feist pour luy de la plus grant partie, luy voiant qu'il ne touchoit au bien des affaires du roy qu'on luy accordast la plus raisonnable chose qu'il demande, c'est que le roy escripvist à ce roy qu'il est ung grand bruict de par delà qu'il l'ait recullé d'autour de luy, et fort eslongué de la bonne grace, en sorte qu'on dict qu'il doibve estre destruict, ce que ne pense totalement estre comme on le dict; toutesfois pour la bonne fraternité qu'ils ont ensemble, et si grant communication de tous leurs plus grans affaires, l'a bien voulu prier de y avoir esgard, affin qu'il n'en entre souldainement quelque mauvaise fantaisie envers ceulx qui ont veu, qu'en si grant solemnité et auctorité, il ait servy d'instrument en cette perpetuelle amitié tant renommée par toute la Chrestienté: et que si d'aventure il estoit entré en quelque mal contentement de luy, il veuille ung peu moderer son affection, comme il est bien seur que luy vouldront conseiller ceulx qui sont autour de sa personne et au maniement de ses plus grandes affaires." Letter from the Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, dat. London, 17th Oct., 1529. Le Grand, iii. 370.

[8] *He never sate more.*] "Cardinal Wolsey being now divested of his late power (wherein he had the glory, in some sort, to have been superior to his king), and for the rest being left alone, and exposed not only to a general hatred, but to the private machinations of the present and future queen, became sensible of his ill estate: though yet he did not believe himself so

comming of the dukes of Suffolke and Norfolke, who came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him; to whom they declared the kings pleasure; which was that he should

near his overthrow, as it appeared afterwards. But what could he hope for, when such puissant enemies did procure his destruction? Therefore, though he received some advices from Rome, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conservation, yet in effect what secret intelligence soever passed betwixt the pope and him came to the emperor first, and after to queen Catherine, who cunningly caused it to be whispered into the king's ears, by some more indirect ways than it could possibly be imagined to proceed from her. Likewise Mrs. Anne Bullen, having learned from some of the king's wisest and gravest counsellors, divers malversations of the Cardinal, was so far from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better actions. Edmund Campian adds to these reasons, that Sir Francis Bryan being in Rome, did by the means of a familiar one who kept the pope's papers, obtain a letter of the cardinal's which wrought his ruin,—in this manner. Having first shewed her the cardinal's hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this courtesan so dexterously performed the rest, that upon pretence of visiting her servant in his study, she conveyed away this letter and gave it Bryan, who failed not immediately to send it to our king. Which relation of Campian, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by original despatches, Bryan was come from Rome before any argument of the king's disfavour to the cardinal appeared." Still, that the king was in possession of *some* papers of the cardinal betraying his bad faith is plain from what we have lately read: "How can that be? *Is not this your own hand?*" and Lord Herbert himself tells us, in another place, that "the king believed he held underhand intelligence with the pope, which might be by some notice he might have of a joint dispatch (a minute whereof is extant in our records), from Wolsey and Campeius, whereby they desired the pope to avoke the cause to himself." *State Trials,* vol. i. p. 338—91.—"However, the way the king took to overthrow him was merely legal; though approaching to *summum jus* after most men's opinions. In the carriage whereof yet that secresy was used, that the cardinal did not, or perchance out of greatness of mind, *would* not take notice of what was intended against him. So that though the Bill or Indictment was put in, at the beginning of Michaelmas term, yet did he ride that day to the chancery with his accustomed pomp. Of which our king being advertised, thought fit to forbid him the place." Lord Herbert, in *State Trials,* vol. i. p. 367—69.

surrender and deliver up the great seale into their hands, and to departe simply unto Ashere [9], which was an house scituate nighe unto Hampton Courte, belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commision, that gave them such authority so to doe; who aunswered him againe, that they were sufficient commisioners, and had authority to doe no lesse by the king's mouthe. Notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their saying in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authority, saying also, that for the greate seale, it was delivered him by the kings person to enjoye the ministration thereof, with the rome of the chauncellor, for terme of his life, whereof for his surety he had the kings letters patent to shewe. Which matter was greatly debated betweene him and the dukes, with many great and heinous wordes, all which he toke in patience; insomuch that the dukes were faine to departe againe without their purpose, at that time; and rode to Windsor to the king from whence they came. And what reporte they made, I am uncertaine; howbeit, the next daye they retourned againe from Windsor, from the king, bringing with them the king's letters.

Then my lorde delivered unto them the great seale [1], and was content to obey the kings commandement, and to departe simply [2],

[9] *Ashere.*] Esher.

[1] *The great seale.*] Oct. 19, 1529. Herbert, p. 290.

[2] *To departe simply.*] "Escripvant cette lettre ay sceu que monsieur le legat vient d'etre mys hors de sa maison, et tous ses biens mis en main du roy. Outre les pilleries dont on le charge, et les broüilleries semées par son moien entre les princes chrestiens, on luy mect encores tant d'aultres choses suz, qu'il est du tout affolé. Le duc de Norfock est faict chef de ce conseil, et en son absence celuy de Souffock, et pardessus tout mademoiselle Anne. On ne scait encores qui aura le sceau, je croy bien que les prestres n'y toucheront plus et que à ce parlement ils auront de terribles alarmes. Je voy que le docteur Stephen sera fort avant au manyement des affaires, principale-

taking with him nothing but only certaine provision for his house; saying that the king intended to come thither within two or three daies.

And after longe talke between him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of Englande unto Windsore, and brought the same unto the king. Then went my lord cardinall, and called his officers before him, and toke account of them for all suche stuffe and things whereof they had charge. And in his gallery were set diverse tables, whereupon lay a great number of goodly riche stuffes; as whole pieces of silke of all coulores, velvet, satten, damask, tufted taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and other things, now not in remembrance; also there lay on these tables a thousand pieces of fine hollande clothe, whereof as he reported after, there was five hundred of the said pieces of clothe stolne, and conveied away from the king and him; yet there was laide upon every table, bokes, made in manner of inventories, reporting the number and contents of the same. And even so there were bokes made in manner of inventories[3] of all things here after rehearsed, wherein he toke great paines to set all things in order against the king's comming. Also he hanged all the walls of the gallery on the one side, with clothe of golde, clothe of tyssewe, clothe of silver, and with riche clothe of bodkin[4] of divers colours. Also on the other side were hanged the

ment s'il veult jetter le froc aux horties." Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, 22 Oct. 1528. Le Grand, iii. 377.

[3] *Inventories.*] The original inventory of his furniture, tapestry, and linen, is amongst the MSS. of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, now forming part of the Harleian Collection (No. 599) in the British Museum.

[4] *Clothe of bodkin.*] "Baudekyn, *Cloth of Gold.*" Phillip's *World of Words.* "Baldekinum—pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus utpote stamen ex filis *auri,* subtegmen ex *serico* texitur. *Clothe of baudkins* dicitur in statutis

richest suite of copes of his owne provision (made for his colledges of Oxenforde and Ipswiche) that ever I sawe in Englande. Then had he two chambers adjoyning to the gallery, the one called most commonly the *gilt chamber*, and the other the *counsell chamber*, wherein were set up two broade and long tables, upon tressels, whereupon was set suche a number of plate of all sortes, as was almost incredible. In the *gilt chamber* were set out upon the table nothing but gilt plate; and upon a cupboarde, and in a windowe was set no plate but all gold very riche. And in the *counsell chamber* was all white and parcell gilt plate; and under the table in baskets was all olde broken silver plate, not esteemed worthy to be occupied as plate, but as broken silver; and bokes set bye them, purporting every kinde of plate, and every parcell, with the content of the ounces thereof. Thus was all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of all the saide stuffe with all other things remaining in every office to be delivered to the king, as well unto diverse persons, in whome he put his trust, as to one in especiall of his officers, in every office of his house, to make aunswer to their charge, charged in their indenture of the parcells; for the order was suche, that every officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to their office by indenture.

Then all things being ordered as it is before rehearsed, my lord prepared him to departe by water. And before his going, sir William Gascoigne, being his treasurer, came unto him, to whom he gave, among other, the charge of the delivery of the saide goods, to be delivered unto the king, who saide unto the

Parliamentariis nostris." Wats' Glossary, subjoined to his edition of Matthew Paris.

cardinall, then being his lord and master, "Sir," quoth he, "I am sorry for your grace, for ye shall go straightway to the Tower, as I heard say." "Is this the goode counsell, and comforte," quoth my lord cardinall unto him, "that you can give your master in adversity? It hath alwaies been your naturall inclination to be very lighte of credite; and much more lighter of reporting lies. I would you should knowe, sir William, and all these reporters, that it is untrue; for I never deserved to come there, although it hath pleased the king, to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knewe that I have nothing, but it is *his* of right; for by him, and of him, I have received all that I have; therefore it is of convenience and reason, that I render unto his majesty the same againe, with all my harte. Therefore goe your waies, and attend well to your charge." And therewithall he made him ready to ride; and then with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, whiche was no small number, he toke his barge at his privy staires, and so went by water unto Putney. At the taking whereof, there was walking up and downe [5] on the Thames boates filled with people of London, expecting the cardinalls departing by water, supposing that he should have gone to the Towre, whereat they joied very much.

O wavering and new fangled multitude! Is it not a wonder to consider the mutability of this uncertaine worlde! The common people desireth allwaies those things for the newelties sake, which after turneth them to small profit or commodity. For if the sequell be well and directly weighed and considered, they had but small cause to rejoice at his fall. What hath succeeded

[5] *Walking up and downe.*] *Waffeting.* Singer's edit. p. 185.

wise men doe knowe, and the common sorte themselves have felt. Wherefore to wonder at it, it were but a folly; to study the remedy it profiteth not; for thus it hath ever bene, and will alwaies: do what you will to redresse the same, it botethe not. I cannot see, but alwaies men in authority be disdained with the common sorte of people; and they most of all, that doe observe and minister justice. For where they please some one that receiveth the benefit of the lawe at their hands according to justice, they doe in like wise displease the contrary parte, supposing himselfe to sustaine wrong, where he hath righte. Thus all justices be in some contempt with the people allwaies, for the ministration of their duty. Yet must some such be alwaies elected and deputed soe to doe; for else, if the world should be without inquisitors and order, there should be too much error and abomination.

When he was with all his traine arrived at Putney, being upon the lande, he took his moile[6], and every man to their horses. And riding not paste a paire of butt lengths, he espied a gentleman come riding in poste downe the hill, in the towne of Putney, and demanding of his gentlemen aboute him, what *he* was, that came riding downe so faste. "Forsooth sir," quoth they, "it is Mr. Norris, as it seemeth to us." And by and by he came to my lord saluting him, and sayd, "Sir, the kings majesty commendeth him unto you, and commaunded me to shewe you, that you be as muche in his favor as ever you were, and so shall be. Therefore he would that you should be of good cheere, and take no thought, for ye shall not lacke. And although he hath done thus unkindly towards you, it is more for the satisfying of some,

[6] *Moile.*] Mule.

than for any indignation; and yet you knowe well, he is able to recompence you againe, and to restore you to twise so much; and thus he bad me, that I should shewe you, and willed me to bid you to take all this matter in patience. And sir, for my parte, I truste to see you in better estate, than ever you were." But when he heard Mr. Norris reporte the good and comfortable words of the king, he quickly lighted off his mule, all alone, as though he had bine the youngest amongst us, and incontinent kneeled downe in the dirte upon bothe his knees, holding up his hands for joye of the kings most comfortable message. Mr. Norris alighted also, espying him so sone upon his knees, and kneeled by him, and toke him in his armes, and asked howe he did, calling upon him to credite his message. "Mr. Norris," quoth he, "when I consider the joyfull newes that yee have brought to me, I could doe no lesse than greatly rejoice. Your wordes pierced my harte, that the sodain joye, surmounted my memory, having no regarde or respecte to the place, but I thought it my duty, in the same place where I received this comforte, to laud and praise God upon my knees, and most humbly to render to my soveraigne lorde my harty thanks for the same."

And as he was thus talking upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap, which he wore under his black hat, and scarlet cap; but he could not undoe the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces of his cap, and pulled his said cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done, he rose up and mounted upon his mule, and so rode forthe up the high waye in the towne, talking with Mr. Norris. And when he came unto Putney Heathe, where Mr. Norris should departe from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring

of gold with a stone, and sayd unto him, that the king sent him the same for token of good will, "which ringe," quothe he, "the king saith you know very well." It was the privy token between the king and him, when the king would have any especiall thing sped at his hands. Then saide he to Mr. Norris, "If I were lorde of a realme, the one halfe were too small a rewarde to give you for your paines, and good newes. But, good Mr. Norris, consider with me, that I have nothinge lefte me but my clothes upon my backe. Therefore I shall desire you to take this small rewarde at my hands;" the which was a little chaine of gold, made like a bottle chaine, with a crosse of gold, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Crosse*[7], which he continually

[7] *The Holy Crosse.*] Antiochus, a monk of Saba, in Palestine, who wrote in the seventh century, deplores the loss of the real cross, which he says was carried away into Persia after the defeat of the emperor Heraclius by Chosroës, in the year 614. See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. ix. p. 262.

In the beads or bidding prayer used *before*, or *in the course* of sermons, this anciently was always one of the petitions directed to be put up. "Ye shall praye for the Holy londe, and for the holy-crosse that Jhesu Cryste dyed on for the redempcyon of mannes soule, that it may come into the power of Crysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers,"—*Festival*, fol. 203. And in the ancient form printed by Henry Wharton—"for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendt it out of Hedne mennys honde, into Cristin mennys honde."—*Specimen of Errors*, &c., by Anth. Harmer, p. 166. The injury and error that was occasioned and cherished by the Crusades, and was consequent upon the various other species of devotion in honour of the *material* cross of Christ, so prevalent in those ages, was a frequent topic of complaint among the Reformers. Sir Thomas More tells us that "Luther wished in a sermon of his, that he had in his honde all the pieces of the holy crosse, and said that if he so had, he would throw them there as never sonne sholde shyne on them.—And for what worshipfull reason woulde the wretch do such villanye to the Crosse of Christ? Bycause, as he saith, that there is so moche golde nowe bestowed about the garnyshynge of the peces of the crosse, that there is none lefte for poore folke. Is not this an high reason? As though all the golde that is nowe bestowed about the

ware about his necke next his body; and saide furthermore, "Master Norris, I assure you, when I was in prosperity, although it seme but small in valeue, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for a thousand poundes. Therefore I shall require you to take it in good worthe, and to weare it about your necke continually for my sake, and to remember me to the king when ye shall see opportunity, unto whose Highness I shall most instantly require you to have me most humbly commended; for whose charitable disposition to me, I can but pray for the preservation of his royall estate. I am his obedient subject, his poore chaplaine, and beadman, and so will be during my life, accompting myselfe nothinge, nor to have any thinge, but only of him and by him, whome I have justly and truely served, to the best of my grosse wit." And with that he toke Master Norris by the hand bare headed, and so departed. And when he was gone but a small distance, he returned againe, and caused Mr. Norris to be called to him. When Master Norris was returned, he said unto him, "I am sorry," quothe he, "that I have no token to send to the king. But if you will at my request present the king with this poore Foole[8], I trust he will accept him, for he is, for a nobleman's pleasure, forsoothe, worthe a thousand poundes."

peces of the holy crosse would not have failed to have been geven to poore men, if they had not been bestowed about the garnishing of the crosse: And as though there were nothyng lost, but that is bestowed about Christes crosse."—*Dialogue concerning Heresies,* book i. chap. 2. Works, p. 119.

[8] *Poore Foole.*] This is not to be taken to mean Will Somers, who was not Henry VIII.'s jester till a later period, entering into the royal service after his former master, Richard Fermor, the owner of Easton Neston, had incurred *præmunire* in 1540. Will Somers deserves to be honourably recorded for his gratitude to his former master, whose estates, somewhat shorn, were restored through his means.

So Master Norris toke the Foole; with whom my lord was faine to send sixe of his tallest yeomen, to help him to convaie the Foole to the courte; for the poore Foole toke on like a tyrant, rather than he would have departed from my lord. Notwithstanding they convaied him away, and so brought him to the courte, where the king received him very gladly. After departure of Master Norris with his token to the kinge, my lorde rode straight to Ashur, which is an house belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester, situate in the county of Surry, not farre from Hampton Courte, where my lord and his family continued the space of three or fowre weeks, without either beds, sheets, table clothes, or dishes to eat their meete in, or wherewith to buy any. Howbeit, there was good provision of all kinds of victualls, and of drinke, as bere and wine, whereof there was sufficient and plenty enough. My lord was compelled of necessity to borrowe of Mr. Arundell, and of the bishop of Carlile, plate and dishes, bothe to drinke in, and to eate his meate in. Thus my lord with his family continued in this strange estate, until after All-hallowne tide.

It chanced me upon All-hallowne day[9] to come into the *Great Chamber* at Assher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Mr. Cromwell[10] leaning in the great windowe with a

[9] *All-hallowne day.*] November 1, 1529.

[10] *Mr. Cromwell.*] Thomas Cromwell, or rather *Crumwell*, "who afterwards became of such terrific importance to the Church of England," (Maitland, p. 228,) was a man of low origin and had been, to use his own words, "a ruffian in his younger days." He served as foot-boy to a soldier in the wars in Italy, carrying his master's pike, and he was present in that capacity at the famous passage of the Garigliano, in 1503. Afterwards he became a trafficker in the Boston pardons, then a trooper in the imperial army under Bourbon, and he assisted at the sacking of Rome in 1527. "At length," says Fox,

Primer in his hand, saying our Lady mattens; which had bine a strange sight[1] in him afore.—Well, what will you have more? He

"by learning without book the text of the New Testament of Erasmus' translation, he began to be touched and called to better understanding." For his introduction to Wolsey, Cromwell was indebted to Sir John Russell, who, as we have seen, had been Henry's secret agent with the duke of Bourbon. When about to return to England, in 1525, Russell passed through Bologna, and a plot was laid by the papal authorities there to seize his person, and to send him prisoner to Paris, a measure thought likely to gratify Louise of Savoy, then regent of France, and to help towards the liberation of her son Francis. "Some have said that the municipality of Bologna were bribed by Francis to betray Russell, and Sir John's subsequent challenge of the king at Paris gives some colour to that supposition." (Wiffen, i. 267.) The plot was discovered by Cromwell, then a soldier of fortune, who found the means of gaining access to Sir John Russell, and assisted him to escape from a house at Bologna, which the soldiers of the gonfaloniere had beset. When Cromwell came to England, Russell commended him to Wolsey, whom he served, first as a steward, then as a solicitor, and lastly in that defence before the Commons which laid the foundation of his own high fortunes. It is possible that he repaid Russell by helping him to the rich abbey of Tavistock. A tragedy entitled "*The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*," printed in 1602 and 1613, has been falsely attributed to Shakspeare; it has been reprinted by Malone in the supplementary volume to his edition of Shakspeare.

[1] *A strange sight.*] "Dr. Wordsworth's edition," (says Mr. Singer, in *his* edition of this Life, vol. i. p. 193, A.D. 1825,) "and the later manuscripts read, '*which* had been a strange sight in him afore;' *but this can hardly be right.*" The reader's *wishes* unquestionably will go along with Mr. S. in the opinion here expressed. But I see no sufficient reasons for entertaining it; or for any change in the text. I fear Cromwell, in his earlier years, may have been a man to have given occasion for such a remark being made as that objected to; especially by a writer of George Cavendish's principles. What is the account which Mr. S. gives us, in this same page, from Cardinal Pole, another Roman Catholic writer? "Cardinal Pole relates that Cromwell openly professed to him his Machiavellian principles. He had learned, he said, that vice and virtue were but names: fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the men who seek to rise in the courts of princes."—But it is almost enough of itself, to advert merely

prayed no more earnestly, than he distilled teares as fast from his eyes. Whom I saluted, and bad good morrowe. And with that I perceived his moist chekes, the which he wiped with his napkine. To whom I saide, "Why Mr. Cromwell, what meaneth this dole? Is my lord in any danger, that ye doe lament for him? or is it for any other losse, that ye have sustained by misfortune?"

"Nay," quoth he, "it is for my unhappy adventure. For I am like to lose all that I have laboured for, all the daies of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." "Why Sir," quoth I, "I trust that you be too wise, to do any thing by my lord's commaundement, otherwise than ye might doe, whereof you ought to be in doubt or daunger for losse of your goods." "Well, well," quoth he, "I cannot tell; but this I see before mine eyes, that every thing is as it is taken; and this I knowe well, that I am disdained withal for my master's sake; and yet I am sure there is no cause, why they should doe so. An evill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had promotion by my lord to the encrease of my living. But this much I will say to you, that I will this afternoone, when my lord hath dined, ride to London, and to the courte, where I will *either make or marre*[2], or ever I come againe. I will put myselfe in prease[3], to see what they be able to lay to my charge." "Mary," quoth I, "then in so doing you shall doe wisely, beseeching God to send you good lucke, as I would myselfe." And with that I was called

to the different sides in religion taken by Cromwell and Cavendish. The latter was a person who would naturally entertain a mean opinion of Cromwell's devotional habits and propensities.

[2] *Make or marre.*] "What he made, and what he marred, has long been matter of history." Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 236.

[3] *In prease.*] See p. 90, where it signifies a press or crowd, but that can scarcely be its meaning here; it may mean under arrest: French, *prise*.

into the closet, to see and prepare all things ready for my lord, whoe intended to say masse there that day himselfe; and so I did.

Then my lord came thither with his chaplaine, one doctor Marshall, and first said mattens, and heard two masses in the time of his mattens saying. And that sayd, he prepared himselfe to masse; and so saide masse himselfe. And when he had finished all his service, incontinent after he was returned into his chamber, he called for his dinner, who was served into his privy chamber, and there dined among diverse his doctors, among whome this master Cromwell dined; and sitting at dinner, it came to passe [that he fell] in communication of his gentlemen and servaunts, whose true and faithful service my lord much commended. Whereupon Mr. Cromwell toke an occasion to tell my lord, that he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service that they did him in this his necessity, the which doe never forsake him in weale ne in woe, and saide,

"Sir, it should be well done for your Grace to call them before you, bothe gentlemen which be worthy personnages, and also your yeomen, and let them understande, that ye righte well consider their paines and truthe with their faithful service; and to give them your commendation, with good words, the which shall be to them great courage to sustaine your misery with paines and patience, and to spend their life and substance in your service."

"Alas Thomas," quoth my lord, "ye knowe I have nothing to give them, and wordes without deeds be not often well taken. For if I had but as I late had, I would departe with them so frankely, as they should be well contente: but nothing, hath no savor; and I am bothe ashamed, and also sorry that I am not able to requite their faithful service. And although I doe rejoice as I may, to consider the fidelity I see in a number of my

servants, who will not forsake me in my miserable estate, but be as diligent and as serviceable about me as they were in my great triumphe and glory, yet I doe lament againe, as vehemently, the want of substance, to distribute among them." "Why Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "have ye not here a number of chapleines, to whom ye have departed liberally with spirituall promotions, in so much as some may dispend, by your Grace's preferment, a thousand pounds by yeare, and some five hundred marks, and some more and some lesse; you have not a chapleine within all your house, or belonging to you, but he may spend well at the least (by your procurement and promotion) three hundred markes yearely, who have had all the profit and gaines at your handes, and other your servauntes nothing: and yet have your poore servauntes taken much more paines in one day, than all your idle chapleines have done in a yeare. Therefore if they will not frankely and freely consider your liberallity, and departe with you of the same goods gotten in your service, now in your great indigence and necessity, it is pitty that they live; and all the world will have them in indignation and hatred, for their ingratitude to their master."

"I think no lesse Thomas," quoth my lord, "wherefore, I pray you, cause all my servants to assemble without, in my great chamber, after dinner, and see them stand in order, and I will declare my mind unto them."

After that the borde's end was taken up, master Cromewell came to me, and saide "Heard you not," quoth he, "what my lorde saide?" "Yes Sir, that I did," quoth I. "Well, then," quoth he, "call all the gentlemen and yeomen up into the great chamber; and even so I did, commanding all the gentlemen to stand on the right side of the chamber, and all the yeomen on the

other side. And at the laste my lord came out in his rochet upon a violet gowne, like a bishop, who went streight to the upper ende of the saide chamber, where was the great windowe. Standing there a while, his chapleins about him, beholding this goodly number of his servaunts, he could not speake unto them, untill the teares ran downe his chekes: which fewe teares perceived by his servants, caused the fountaines of water to gusshe out of their faithfull eyes, in such sorte as it would cause a cruell harte to lament. At the last, after he had turned his face to the windowe, and dried his moisted chekes, he spake to them in this sorte in effect;

"Most faithfull gentlemen, and true hearted yeomen, I doe not lament to see you about me, but I lament in a manner a certaine ingratitude on my behalfe towards you all, in whome hath bin a great defaulte, that in my prosperity I have not done so much for you, as I might have done, either in deede or worde, which lay in my power then to doe: but then I knewe not the juell and speciall treasure I had in my house of you my faithful servants; but now experience hath taught me, and with the eyes of my discretion I doe well perceive the same. There was never thing that repented me more that ever I did, than doeth the remembraunce of my great and most oblivious negligence, and unkinde ingratitude, that I have not promoted, preferred or advaunced you all, accordinge to your demerits. Howbeit, it is not unknowne unto you all, that I was not so fully furnished of temporall promotions in my gifte, as I was of spiritual preferments. And if I should have preferred you to any of the king's offices, then should I have runne in the indignation of the king's servants, who would not much let to reporte behinde my backe that there could no office in the king's gifte escape the cardinall and his servants, and

thus should I have runne in open slaunder before all the world. But now it is come to this passe, that it hath pleased the king to take all that ever I have into his hands, so that I have nothing to give you; for I have nothing lefte me but my bare clothes upon my backe, the which are simple in comparison to that I had: howbeit if it might doe you any good, I would not sticke to divide the same among you, yea, and the skinne of my backe too, if it might countervaile any value among you. But my good gentlemen and yeomen, my trusty and faithful servaunts, and of whome no prince hath the like, I shall require you to take some patience with me awhile, for I doubt not but that the kinge, considering my suggested offence by mine enemies, which is put against me, to be of small griefe or hurte, for so great and soddaine an overthrowe, will shortely restore me to my living, so that I shall be more able to divide my substance among you, whereof ye shall not lacke. For what-soever shall chaunce hereafter to be an overplus and superfluity of my revenewes, at the determination of my yearely accompt, it shall be distributed among you. For I will never during my life esteeme the goods and riches of this world any otherwise than which shall be sufficient to mainetaine the estate that God hath and shall call me unto. And if the kinge doe not shortly restore me, then will I write for you, either to the king, or to any noble man within this realme, to retaine your service; for I doubt not but the kinge or any noble man within this realme, will credite my letter in your commendation. Therefore, in the mean time, I would advise you to repaire home to your wives, such as have wives; and some of you that have no wives, to take a time to visit your parents in the country. There is none of you all, but would once in a yeare require license to see and visit your wife, and other of your friends: take this time therefore in that

respect, and in your retourne I will not refuse you, to beg with you. I consider that your service in my house hath been such, that ye be not apt to serve any man under the degree of a king; therefore I would advise you to serve no man but the king, who I am sure will not refuse you. Therefore I shall desire you to take your pleasure for a month, and then ye may come againe, and by that time, I trust the king will extend his mercy upon me."

"Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "there be diverse of these your yeomen, that would be glad to see their friends, but they lacke money: therefore here be diverse of your chapleines that have received at your hands great benefices and livings; let them shew themselves unto you as they be bound to doe. I think their honesty and charity is such that they will not see you lacke any thing that may doe you good or pleasure. And for my parte, although I have not received of your graces gifte one penny towards the increase of my livinge, yet will I give you this towards the dispatch of your servantes," and therewith delivered unto my lord five pounds in gold. "And now let us see what your chapleines will doe. I think they will departe with you, much more liberally than I, who be more able to give you a pound than I a penny." "Goe to, my masters," quoth he to the chapleines; insomuch as they gave to my Lord liberally, some ten pounds, some twenty nobles, some five pounds, and so some more and some lesse, as their powers would extend, at that time; by means whereof my lord received among them as much as paid the yeomen ten shillings the pece towardes their quarters wages, and as much money as would pay every of them for a monthes borde wages; and then they departed downe into the hall, where some determined to goe to their friends, and some would not departe from my lorde, untill they might see him in better estate.

My lord retourned into his chamber lamenting the departure from his servants, making his mone to master Cromewell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave[4] to goe to London, whereas he would *either make or marre* (the which was alwaies his common terme). Then after a little communication with my lord in secret, he departed and toke his horse, and rode to London, at whose departinge I was by, to whome he saide, "Farewell, ye shall heare shortly of mee, and if I speede well, I will not faile to be here againe, within these two daies." And so I toke my leave of him, and he rode on his journey. Sir Rafe Sadler, now knight, was then his clerke, and rode with him.

After my lord had supped that night, and all men gonne to bed, being All-hallowne day, about midnight, one of the porters came to my chamber dore, and knocked there to wake me. And being once awake, and perceiving who was there, I asked him, what he would have at that time of the night? "Sir," quoth he, "there be a great number of horsemen at the gate, that would come in, saying that it is sir John Russell, and so it appeares by his voice; and what is your pleasure that I should doe?" said he, "Mary," quoth I, "goe downe againe, and make a great fire in your lodge, until I come, to drie them;" for it rained all that nighte most vehemently, as it did at any time the yeare before. Then I arose and made me ready, and put on my night gowne, and came to the gates, and asked who was there. With that Mr. Russel spake to me, whom I knewe right well, and caused the gates to be set open, and let them all come in, who were wet to the very skin. I caused Mr. Russel to goe into the porter's

[4] *Desired my lord to give him leave.*] On this subject, and on Cromwell's character, see Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, 8vo. pp. 228—236.

lodge to the fire to drie him; and he shewed me that he was come from the king unto my lord in message, with whom he required me to speake. "Sir," quoth I, "I trust your newes be good." "Yea, and so I promise you on my fidelity; and so tell him, that I have brought him such newes, as will please him right well." "Well then, I will goe," quoth I, "and wake him, and cause him to rise." I went incontinent to my lord's chamber dore, and knocked there, so that my lord spake to me, and asked me what I would have. With that I tould him of the comming of Sir John Russell; and then he called up to him one of his gromes to let me in; and when I was come to him, I tould him againe of the journey that Sir John Russell had taken that troublesome night. "I pray God all be for the beste," quoth he. "Yes Sir," quoth I, "he shewed me, and so bade me tell you, that he had brought suche newes, as you would greatly rejoice thereat." "Well then," quoth he, "God be praised, and welcome be his grace! Go ye and fetch him to me, and by that time I will be ready to talke with him."

Then I returned into the lodge, and brought Mr. Russell from thence unto my lord, who had cast about him his night gowne. And when Mr. Russell was come before him, he most humbly reverenced him, upon his knees, whome my lord stowped unto, and toke him up, and bade him wellcome. "Sir," quoth he, "the king commendeth him unto you;" and delivered him a great ring of gold with a Turkeis, for a token; "and willed me, to bid you be of good cheere; for he loveth you as well as ever he did, and is sorry for your trouble, whose minde runneth muche upon you. Insomuch that before his Grace sat downe to supper, he called me unto him, and desired me to take the paines secretly to visite you, and to comforte you the best of my powre. And Sir, I have

had the sorest journey for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembraunce."

My lorde thanked him for his paines and good newes, and demaunded of him if he had supped; and he saide "Nay." "Well then," quoth my lord, "cause the cookes to provide some meate for him; and cause a chamber to be provided for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed." All which commaundement I fulfilled, and in the meane time my lord and master Russell were in secret communication; and in the ende, master Russell went to his chamber, taking his leave of my lord, and said he would tarry but a while, for he would be at the courte at Greenwiche againe before day, and would not for any thing that it were knowne, that he had bin with my lorde that night. And so being in his chamber, having a small repaste, he rested him a while upon a bed, whiles his servauntes supped and dried them; and that done, incontinent he rode away againe with speede to the courte. And after this within a while, my lord was restored to plate, vessells, and householde stuffe, of every thing necessary some parte, so that he was better furnished than before.

Now let us retourne againe to master Cromewell to see how he hath spedde, since he departed. The case stode so, that the parliament should begin *crastino animarum*[5], or there abouts, and he being within London devised with himself to be one of the burgesses of the parliament, and chaunced to meete with one Sir Thomas Rush, knighte, a speciall friend of his, whose son was appointed to be a burgess, of whome he obtained his rome, and so put his fete into the parliament house; so that within two or three daies after his departure from my lord, he came againe to

[5] *Crastino animarum.*] 3rd November, 1529.

Asshere, with a pleasaunte countenaunce, and saide to me, that he had once adventured to put in his feete, where he would be better regarded, or ever the parliament were finished. Then talked he with my lorde, and after his talke he rode againe to London, because he would not be absent from the parliament. There was nothing done against him in the parliament house, but he sent to my lorde to knowe what answer he might make in his behalfe; insomuch that there was nothing alleadged against my lord, but that he was ready to make aunswer thereto; insomuch that at the length his honest estimation and earnest behaviour in his master's cause, grewe so in every man's opinion, that he was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all other, wherein he was greatly of all men commended.

Then was there brought in [6] a bill of articles into the Parliament house to have my lord condemned of treason; against which bill Mr. Cromewell inveighed so discreetly, with such witty persuasions and depe reasons, that the same could take no effect [7]. Then were his enemies constrained to indight him [8] in a *premunire*, and all was to intitle the king to his goods and possessions, the which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his colledges in Oxonforde and Ipswiche, whereof he was then in building in the most sumptuous wise [9]. Wherein when my lord

[6] *Brought in.*] Dec. 1529. Lord Herbert, p. 302.

[7] *The same could take no effect.*] "I ascribe its rejection to the king, from the character of Cromwell, and the general subserviency of the parliaments in this reign. Cromwell would not have dared to oppose the bill, nor the commons to reject it, had they not received an intimation that such was the royal pleasure." Lingard, vi. 160.

[8] *To indight him.*] See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 367—86.

[9] *Sumptuous wise.*] Cavendish, it is much to be regretted, had no taste for enlarging on his master's noble designs for the advancement of learning and science. For instance, one of these was, to procure all the manuscripts in

was demaunded by the judges, which were sent unto him to knowe his mind, and to take his aunswer therein, he aunswered them in this wise, "My lordes, judges," quoth he, "the kings highness knoweth, whether I have offended his majesty or no, in using of my prerogative legantine, for which I am indighted. I have the king's licence in my coffers under his hande and broad seale for the exercising and using thereof, in the most largest wise; the which now are in the hands of my ennemies. Therefore, because I will not stande in question with the kinge in his owne cause, I will here presently confesse before you the indightment, and put me wholly into the mercy and grace of the kinge, trusting that he hath a conscience and a discretion to consider the truthe, and my humble submission and obedience; wherein I might right well stand to the triall thereof by justice. But thus much ye may say to his highness, that I am wholly under his obedience, and will; and doe submit myselfe to all things that shall be his princely pleasure, whose will and commaundement I never disobeied or repugned, but was alwaies contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefely to have obeied; the which now me repents. Notwithstanding, I most hartely require you, to have me unto his royall majestie comended, for whome I doe and will, during my life, pray to God, to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies." And therewith they toke their leave, and departed.

the Vatican to be transcribed for the service of his country.—Grove's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 313. A few years since, the English government procured, chiefly through the intervention of Mr. W. R. Hamilton, whilst minister at the court of Naples, transcripts from the archives of the Vatican of a vast number of documents relative to the history of this country. The collection is now deposited in the British Museum for public use.

Shortly after the king sent the duke of Norfolk unto him in message; but what it was I am not certaine; therefore I omit to speake thereof. But my lord being advertised, that my lord of Norfolke was comming even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to waite upon him downe through the hall into the base courte, to receive the duke at the gates; and commaunded all his yeomen to stand in order still in the hall. And he himselfe, with all his gentlemen, went to the gates, where he received my lord of Norfolke bareheaded; who imbraced each other; and so led him by the arm through the hall into his chamber. And when the duke had passed through unto the upper end of the hall, regarding the number of tall yeomen that stood on each side thereof; he tourned againe to the yeomen, and saide, "Sirs," quoth he, "your diligent and faithful service unto your master in this his calamity, hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much honesty; in so much that the king comaunded me to say to you in his name, that for your true and lovinge service that ye have done to your master, his highness will see you all at any time furnished with services, according to your demerits." With that my lorde put offe his cappe, and saide to my lorde of Norfolke; "Sir," quoth he, "these men be all approved men: wherefore it were pitty they should want any service; and being sorry that I am not able to doe for them, as my harte wisheth, I will therefore require you, my good lord, to be good lord unto them, and extend your charity among them, where and when ye shall see occasion, at any time hereafter; and that ye will preferre their diligence and faithfull service unto the king." "Doubt you not my lord," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "but I will doe for them the beste in my powre; and whereas I shall see cause, I will be an earnest suter for them to the king; and some of you

I will retaine my selfe in service for right honest men. And as ye have begonne, so continue, untill ye heare more of the king's pleasure. God's blessing and mine be with you!" And so went up into the great chamber to dinner, whom my lord cardinall thanked; and saide unto him, "Yet my lord, of all other noble men, I have most cause to thanke you for your noble and gentle harte, the which you have shewed me behinde my backe, as my servante Thomas Cromewell well hath reported unto me. But even as ye be a noble man in dede, so have you shewed yourselfe no lesse to all men in calamity, and in especiall to me, whome ye have brought downe, from my high estate, but now againe, being in this my miserable estate, you have extended your favour most honorably with great charity. Ye doe right well deserve to beare in your armes [10] the noble and gentle lion, having the very

[10] *In your armes.*] There is no lion in the arms of Howard, save the augmentation granted to the earl of Surrey for his victory in 1513 over James IV., at Flodden;

"Where in his banner's ample fold
The ruddy lion ramp'd in gold."

This augmentation, borne by all Surrey's descendants to this day, consists of the Scottish banner, with this difference, that the ruddy lion is cut in half, and pierced through the mouth with an arrow. Surrey was entitled, however, to quarter with his own arms those of Mowbray (a *silver lion* on a red field), and those of Segrave (a *silver lion*, with a crown of gold, on a black field), and he therefore used as a device, and as a badge for his retainers, a *white lion* tearing a red lion. Buchanan says: (lib. xiii. 38) "Magnam ex illa pugna contra Scotos Thomas Havartus Surriæ comes gloriam reportaverat, si moderate suam fortunam tulisset. Sed homo secundarum rerum successu quasi ebrius, et instabilitatis humanæ parum memor, suis domesticis ministris (ut mos est Anglis) notam qua agnoscerentur, in sinistris brachiis ferendam dedit, *leonem album* (quo ipse insigni utebatur), qui rubrum superincumbens unguibus discerperet. Hanc ejus insolentem insultationem velut numine plectente, nemo fere posterorum ejus alterutrius sexus, sine insigni ignominia vel clade decessit." This judgment, as Bu-

property of the lion, whose naturall property is, when he hath vanquished a cruell beaste, and seeth him yelded, lying prostrate

chanan would have it to be, was true to a certain extent, up to the time when he wrote, viz. about 1580.

Surrey's contemporaries allude to this badge. Skelton, in (an addition to) his epitaph on Henry VII. says,

"Quem *leo candidior* rubeum necat ense leonem."

And again in his lines "Against the Scottes,"

"The *whyte lyon*, there rampaunt of moode,
He ragyd and rent out your hart bloode,
He the *whyte* and ye the red:
The *whyte* there slew the red starke ded."

Roy, on the title page of his "Rede me and be not wrothe" (before mentioned, see p. 39), has given a coarsely imagined shield of arms which he calls Wolsey's, and which, in heraldic phrase, may be thus described: Quarterly, i. and iv. three bulls' heads caboshed: ii. and iii. three butchers' hatchets; on an inescutcheon a mastiff passant, with part of a crown in his mouth: at the back is a thick club: the whole surmounted by a cardinal's cap. It is almost needless to add, that these arms are supposititious and intended to be satirical: Wolsey's real arms were those now used by Christ Church College, Oxford. Roy adds what is more to the purpose of this note, viz.:—

"Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan,
The sixe blouddy axes in a bare felde,
Sheweth the cruelte of the red man
Whiche hathe devoured the beautiful *swan*;
Mortall enmy unto the *Whyte Lion*,
Carter of Yorcke; the vyle butchers sonne.
* * * * * *
The ban dog in the middes doth expresse
The mastiff curre bred in Ypswitch towne,
Gnawinge with his teth a kynges crowne."

The *swan* was the badge of the duke of Buckingham, (father-in-law of the duke of Norfolk,) beheaded in 1521, at the instigation, Roy means to insinuate, of Wolsey.

It is this duke of Norfolk whom Wolsey here addresses, and who, though

before him under his feete, then will he be mercifull unto him, and doe him no more hurte, ne suffer any ravenous beast to devour him: all whose naturall inclination ye have; where I may say these verses in your commendation,

"Parcere prostratis [11] scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe."

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not the commander at Flodden, yet bore a great share in the fight. He, being then lord admiral of England, led the van, whilst his younger brother, lord Edmund Howard, was marshal of the horse, and their father, the earl of Surrey, commanded the centre.

The importance of heraldry in the days of which we speak must not be measured by the little consideration given to it in modern times. To Henry and to those of his court it had a meaning, and spoke of rights. We shall see the case of Anne Boleyn (p. 203); Henry himself chose arms for his natural son, the duke of Richmond; Wolsey found it necessary, in order to appease Henry, in 1523, to offer that his treasurer, Sir William Gascoigne, should make oath that the earl of Northumberland, whilst lord warden of the North Marches, did not bear the cross keys, the badge of the church of York, but the king's cognizance, and, under that, the Percy badge: and a principal article in the indictment of treason against the celebrated earl of Surrey, (son of the duke of Norfolk, whom Wolsey here addresses, and grandson of the victor of Flodden-field,) was that he quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor with those of the house of Howard.

[11] *Parcere prostratis.*] Skelton alludes to these lines in his elegy on the death of the earl of Northumberland, who was massacred by the mob in his house at Cock-lodge, near Thirsk, on the 28th April, 1489, and apostrophises the young earl as the lion, meaning the *blue* lion, said to be the ancient coat of Brabant, which the Percies still use.

"O yonge lyon, but tender yet of age,
Grow and encrese, remember thyn estate;
God thé assyst unto thyn herytage,
And geue thé grace to be more fortunate.
Agayn rebellyones arme thé to make debate;
And as the lyone, which is of bestes kynge,
Unto thy subiectes be curteis and benygne."
Percy's *Reliques*, i. 95, and Dyce, i. 12.

With these words the water was brought them to washe; to the which my lorde called my lorde of Norfolke, to washe with him: but he refused so to doe of curtesy, and saide, "that it became him no more to presume to washe with him now, than it did before [12]." "Yes," quoth my lord, "for my legacy is gone [1], wherein stode all my high honnor." "A strawe," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "for your legacy. I never esteemed your honnor the higher for that. But I esteemed your honnor, for that ye were archbishop of Yorke, and a cardinall, whose estate and honnor surmounteth any duke within this realme; and even so will I honnor you, and acknowledge the same, in doing you reverence and honnor accordingly. Therefore contente you, I will not presume to washe with you; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." Then was my lord compelled to wash all alone; and when he had done, then my lorde of Norfolke washed by himselfe. That done, my lord cardinall would have had him sit

[12] *Than it did before.*] During the visit of the emperor Charles V. to Henry VIII., in May, 1520. Henry went to meet "his nephew" at Canterbury, (a fact which was duly chronicled in the edition of Lily's Grammar published that year, in the phrase "*Audito regem Doroberniam proficisci.*" This phrase was transferred to the Eton Grammar where it still exists, with the marvellous translation, "It being heard that the king was set out for *Dover.*") Stowe gives an account of the meeting, adding, "On Monday at nine of the clocke at night, was begun a banquet, which endured till the next morning at three of the clocke, at the which banquet the emperor, the king, and the queene did wash together, the duke of Buckingham giving the water, the duke of Suffolke holding the towel. Next them did washe *the Lord Cardinall*, the queene of Fraunce, (Henry's sister Mary, wife of the duke of Suffolk,) and the queene of Aragon (Juana, mother of the emperor). At which banquet the emperor kept the estate, the king sitting on the left hand, next him the French queene; and on the other side sate the queene, *the cardinall*, and the queene of Aragon; which banquet was served by the emperor's owne servants." Stowe's *Annals*, p. 510. Edit. 1615.

[1] *Legacy is gone.*] Meaning his office of *legate.*

downe on the chaire, in the inner side of the table, but he refused the same with much humbleness. Then was there another chaire set for my lorde of Norfolke, over against my lord cardinall, on the outside of the table, the which he caused to be based something beneathe, and would not sit directly against my lord: having all their communication of the diligent service of the gentlemen, who waited upon him there at dinner, and how much the king and all the other lordes did esteeme and commend them in so doing; and how little they are regarded in the courte that are come to the king's service, and have forsaken their master in this time of necessity; whereof some he blamed by name. And thus their dinner and conversation ended, they rose and went into my lordes privy chamber, where they continued in consultation.

And being there, it chaunced Mr. Shelley[2], the judge, came thither, who was sent from the king; whereof relation was made to my lord, which caused the duke and him to break up their communication; and the duke desired to goe to a chamber, to repose him there for a while. And comming forthe of my lorde's chamber, he met with Mr. Shelley, to whome Mr. Shelley resorted, and after he had made relation of the cause of his comming, he desired my lorde of Norfolke to tarry and to assist him in doing of his message; whom he denied and saide, "I have nothing to doe with your message, wherein I will not meddle;" and so departed into a chamber, where he toke his rest for an houre or two. And in the mean time my lorde issued out of his privy chamber, and came to Mr. Shelley to knowe his message. Who,

[2] *Mr. Shelley.*] Sir William Shelley, one of the judges of the Common Pleas.

after due salutation, did declare unto him, the king's pleasure was to have my lorde's house, called York Place nere Westminster, belonging to the bishopricke of Yorke, and to possess the same according to the lawes of his realme. "His highness hath sent for all the judges, and all the learned counsaile, to knowe their opinions for the assurance thereof; whose opinions be fully resolved, that your Grace must make a recognisaunce, and before a judge acknowledge and confesse the right thereof to belong to the king and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased the king to appoint and send me hither, to take of you the same recognisaunce, having in your grace such affiaunce, as that ye will not refuse soe to doe. Therefore I shall desire your grace to know your pleasure therein."—"Master Shelley," quoth my lord, "I knowe that the king of his owne nature is of a royall stomache, not willing more than justice shall leade him unto by the lawe. And therefore, I counsaile you and all other judges and learned men of his counsaile to put no more into his heade than lawe, that may stande with conscience; for when ye tell him this is the lawe, it were well done ye should tell him also that although *this* be the lawe, yet *this* is conscience; for lawe without conscience is not mete to be given to a king by his counsell, to be ministered by him, ne by any of his ministers: for every counsellor to a king ought to have a respect to conscience, before the rigour of the lawe, for *laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The king ought for his royall dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the lawe, where conscience hath the more force: and therefore in his princely place, he hath constituted a chauncellor to order for him the same. And therefore the courte of the chauncery hath been commonly called the courte of conscience; because it hath jurisdiction to command

the lawe in every case to desist from the execution of the rigour of the same, whereas conscience hath most effect. Therefore I say unto you in this case, although you and other of your profession, perceive by the orders of the lawe, that the king may lawfully doe the thing which ye require of me; how say you Mr. Shelley may I doe it with conscience, to give that away which is none of mine, from me and my successors? If this be the lawe and conscience, I pray you shewe me your opinion." "Forsothe, my lorde," quoth he, "there is no great conscience. But having regarde to the king's high powre, and to a better purpose, it may the better stand with conscience; who is sufficient to recompense the churche of Yorke with double the valewe." "That I knowe well, but there is no such condition," quoth my lorde, "but only a bare and simple departure with another's right. For if every bishoppe that may, should so doe, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of their churches; and so in process leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignity; which should be but smally to the king's honnor. Well, I will not stand long with you in this matter, let me see your commission." To whome Mr. Shelley shewed the same, and that seene, "Mr. Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall shewe the king's highness, that I am his most faithfull subjecte, obediencer, and beadman, whose royall commaundement and requeste I will in no wise disobey, but fulfill his pleasure in all such things, wherein ye fathers of the lawe say I may lawfully doe. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me. Howbeyt, shewe his highness from me, that I most humbly desire his majestie to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both a heaven and a hell." And herewithall the clerke toke and wrote the recognisaunce, and after some secrete talke they departed. Then rose my lorde of

Norfolke from his repose, and after some communication with my lorde he likewise departed.

Thus continued my lorde at Asshur, who received daily messages from the courte, some good and some as evil, but moe evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the good affection and minde that the king bare allwaies towards him, devised a mean to disquiet his patience; thinking thereby to give him an occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue, than otherwise, the which they most desired. They feared him more after his fall, than they did in his prosperity, doubting his retourne againe into authority by the kings favour; whereby they might rather be in daunger of their lives, than in any assuraunce, for their cruelty ministered unto him by their malicious inventions, surmised and brought to passe against him.

Therefore they toke this order in their matters with him, that daily they would send him something, or doe something against him, wherein they thought they might give him an occasion of heaviness. As some day they would cause the king to send for fowre or six of his gentlemen from him to serve the king: and some other day they would lay newe matters newely invented against him. Another day they would take away some of his promotions; or some of their promotions from them whom he had preferred before. Then would they fetch from him some of his yeomen; in somuche that the king toke sixteen of them at one time into his garde.

This was his life continually; so that there was not one day but, or ever he went to bed, he had an occasion greatly to chafe, and to frete the harte out of his body, but that he was a wise man, and bare all things in patience.

At Christmas he fell very sore sicke, most likely to die.

Whereof the king being advertised, was very sorry, and sent doctor Buttes[3], his phisition, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Doctor Buttes came unto him, finding him lying very sicke in his bed; and perceiving the daunger retourned to the king. Of whom the king demaunded, saying, "Have you seen yonder man?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "How do you like him?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant him he will be dead within these foure days, if he receive no comforte from you shortly, and Mrs. Anne." "Marye," quoth the king, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, master Buttes goe againe unto him, and doe your care unto him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousande poundes." "Then must your grace," quoth master Buttes, "send him first some comfortable message, as shortly as ye can." "Even so I will," quoth the king, "by you. And therefore make speede to him againe, and ye shall deliver him this ring from me, for a token," (in the which ring was the king's image, engraved within a ruby, as like the king as could be devised). "This ring he knoweth right well; for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my harte nothing at all, and that shall he knowe shortly. Therefore bid him pluck up his harte, and be of good comforte. And I charge you come not from him, untill ye have brought him out of the daunger of death." Then spake the king to mistress Anne Bullen, saying, "Good sweete harte, I pray you, as ye love me, send the cardinall a token at my desire, with comfortable wordes; and in so doing ye shall deserve our

[3] *Doctor Buttes.*] Sir William Buttes, knight, whose portrait is introduced by Holbein, in the picture representing Henry VIII. giving a charter of incorporation to the barber-surgeons' company.

thankes." She not being disposed to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, what soever in her harte she intended [4] towards the cardinall; but toke incontinent her tablet of gold, that hung at her girdle, and delivered it to master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable wordes. And so master Buttes departed with speede to Asshur; after whom the king sent doc-

[4] *What soever in her harte she intended.*] "It was the providence and just judgement of God, that that which he intended to the harme of others should be the occasion of his owne overthrowe. For the king (the cardinall nothing less expecting) had fallen in love with Ann Bullen, and upon her his heart was so thoroughlie and entirely fixed, that he had, contrarie to his speeches to the cardinall, resolutely determined to marry her. Wherefore there was a messenger dispatched with letters to the cardinall, willing and commanding him, that of other matters he should breake with the French kinge, but in no cause he should speake a word of the marriage. Yet the cardinall moved it, as being the chief thing to bring his malicious drift to effect. *Which Ladie Anne understanding, afterwards never ceased to urge and press the king against him, till he was utterlie overthrowne.*"—*Life of Sir T. More*, in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, (4th edit.) vol. ii. p. 125. Wolsey was fully conscious of this feeling towards him, for in a letter written at this time from Esher to Cromwell, he desires to hear "sum specialness if the desspleasure of my lady Anne be sumwhat assuagyd, as I pray God the same may be."—II. Ellis, ii. p. 28.

There were three grounds on which we may well suppose Anne Boleyn's enmity to be founded. 1. Wolsey, at the king's desire, had broken off her engagement with the heir of the earl of Northumberland, for a cause of which she, at least, was ignorant: and, in spite of Cavendish's expressions, it is but fair towards Wolsey to infer, that he then believed in good faith the king's intention to be (in accordance with his declaration) to marry her to the son of Sir Piers Butler, and his anger to be caused solely by opposition to his royal wishes. 2. When, at a later time, Wolsey could not but have known of Henry's love for her, and when she was certainly acquainted with it, he wished the king to marry a French princess. 3. When Henry had declared his intention to marry her, and when, as there is but too much cause for believing, she had yielded to his wishes, she considered (whether rightly or wrongly is not of importance) that Wolsey was lukewarm in promoting Henry's divorce from Katharine.

tor Cromer the Scot, doctor Clement[5], and doctor Wotton[6], to consulte with master Buttes for my lordes recovery.

After that master Buttes had been with my lorde and delivered the kings and mistress Annes tokens unto him, with the most comfortable wordes that he could devise on the kings and mistress Annes behalfe, he rejoiced not a little, and advaunced himselfe on his bed, and received the tokens most joyfully, thanking master Buttes for his paines and good comforte. Master Buttes tould him furthermore that the kings pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health: and to joine with him, for the better and most assured waies, he hath sent heither doctor Clement, doctor Cromer, and doctor Wotton. "Therefore my lorde," quoth he, "It were well done they were called in to visite you, and to consulte with them, and to have their opinions of your disease, trusting to Almighty God that we shall, through his grace and helpe, ease you of your paines, and rid you of your infirmities." To this motion my lorde was contented to hear their judgement; for he trusted more to doctor Cromer than to all the rest, because he was the very meane to bring him from Paris into Englande, and gave him partly his exhibition in Paris. Then when they were come into his chamber, and had talked with him, he tooke upon him to debate his disease learnedly, so that they might perceive that he was sene in that arte. After they had taken order for their ministration, it was not long ere they brought him out of daunger; and within foure daies they set him on his feete, and got him a stomache to meate. All this

[5] *Clement.*] "Dr. John Clement, famous for his singular skill in Greek and in Phisicke."—*Life of Sir Thomas More*, in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. ii.

[6] *Wotton.*] Dr. Nicholas Wotton, afterwards dean of Canterbury and York.

done, and he in a right good way of amendment, they toke their leave to departe, to whome my lorde offered to each of them his rewarde; the which they refused, saying, that the king had given them a speciall commaundement, that they should take of him nothing for their paines and ministration; for at their retourne he himselfe would sufficiently rewarde them of his owne costes: and with great thankes they departed, and lefte my lord in good state of recovery.

After this time my lord amended daily, and continued at Asshur, untill Candlemas[7]; before and against which feaste, the king caused to be sent unto my lorde three or foure carte loades of stuffe, and most thereof, excepte beds and kitchin stuffe, was loaded in great standards, wherein was bothe plate and rich hangings and chappell stuffe. Then my lord, being thus furnished, was therewith contented; although they whome the king assigned did not deliver him so good, ne so riche stuffe, as the kings pleasure was, yet was he well contented, and rendered most humble thanks to the king, and thanked them that appointed the same for him, saying to us his servaunts, when those appointed persons were gone, at the opening of the saide standardes, that he thought it might have bene better appointed. "But sirs," quoth my lord, "he that hath nothing is glad of somewhat: and though it be not in comparison so much, ne yet in valewe so good as we had before, of all the great aboundaunce that then we had, yet we give the kinge our most humble thankes, trusting after this to attaine to more. Therefore let us all rejoice, and be glad that God and the king hath so graciously

[7] *Candlemas.*] 2nd February, 1530. On the first of Feb. Wolsey wrote to Cromwell from Esher, that he could not remove to Richmond on that day, not being prepared. State Papers, i. 361.

favoured us to restore us to something to maintaine our estate like a noble person."

Then commanded he master Cromwell to make earnest suite to the kinge, that he might remove from thence to some other house, for he was weary of the house of Asshur[8]; for with continuall usage the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove, he shoulde much sooner recover his healthe. And also the counsell had put in the kings heade, that the newe gallery[9], which my lorde had lately builded before his fall shoulde be very necessary for the king, to take it downe and set it at Westminster; which standeth at this day there, from the old gallery next the kings lodging, unto the first gatehouse. The taking away whereof was a great course that his enemies daily invented of new, to torment him, the which discouraged him any longer to continue there.

Nowe master Cromewell thought it but folly and vaine to move any of the king's counsell, who were my lordes ennemies, to helpe his suite to the kinge for my lordes removing, for they would rather have removed him further from the king, than to

[8] *Weary of the house of Asshur.*] In a letter to Gardiner, Wolsey thus describes his feelings at Esher: "I pray you at the reverens of God to help, that expedition be used in my presents, the delay wherof so replenyssheth my herte with hevyness, that I can take no reste, nat for any vayne fere, but onely for the miserabli condycion that I am presently yn, and lyclyhod to contynue in the same onles that ye, in whom ys myn assuryd truste, do help and releve me therein; for fyrst contynuyng here in this moweste (moist) and corrupt eyer, beyng enteryd in to the passyon of the dropsy, *cum prostratione appetitus, et continuo insompnus,* I cannat lyve; wherfor of necessyte I must be removyd to summe other dryer eyer and place, wher I may have commodyte of physycyans."—I. Ellis, ii. p. 7.

[9] *The newe gallery.*] The plans apparently of these galleries are preserved in the British Museum, *Cott. MS. Aug.* I.

have holpen him to come nearer unto him; wherefore he made suite to the kings person only; whose suite the kinge graciously heard, and thought it very convenient to be graunted; and therewith, through the motion of master Cromewell, the kinge was contented he should remove to Richmond, which place my lorde had a little before repaired to his great costes; for the king had made an exchaunge thereof with him for Hampton-court. All this was done without knowledge of the kings counsell; for if they might have had understanding thereof before, then would thay have persuaded the king to the contrary: but when they knewe of the kings graunt and license, although they dissimuled their mindes in the kings presence, yet were they afraide of him, lest his nigh resorte to the king, might move the king at some braide [10], to have resorted unto him, and to have called him home againe considering the great loving affection that the king daily shewed unto him; wherefore they doubted his rising up againe, if they founde not the meanes shortly to remove him further from the king. Insomuch that they thought it convenient for their purpose to move the king, upon considerations, which they invented, that it were very necessary that my lorde should goe downe into the North unto his benefice, where he should be a good staye for the country; to the whiche the king condescended, thinking no lesse than all had been true as they had made relation. Their suggestion was forced so with wonderful imagina-

[10] *Braide.*] Quarrel, dispute, *upbraiding.*

So, in Roy's Satire against the Cardinall: the "*Rede me and be not wrothe,*" before quoted.

"If he had been at this brayde,
He would have made such a noyse
With his horrible shryll voyce,
Mete to have made them afrayde."

tions of depe considerations that the king was straightways persuaded to their conclusion. Whereupon my lorde of Norfolke bade master Cromewell, who daily resorted to my lord, to say to him, that he must goe home to his benefice, and there looke to his charge: who at his next repaire to my lorde, then lying at Richmond, declared unto him, howe it was determined that he should goe home to his benefice. "Well then Thomas," quoth my lord, "we will go to Winchester." "I will," quoth master Cromewell, "shewe my lorde of Norfolk what ye saye." And so he did at his next meeting with him. "What should he doe there?" quoth the duke. "Nay, let him goe to his riche bishopricke of Yorke, where his honors and more charge lieth; and so shewe him." The lordes who were not his friends, perceiving that my lorde was disposed to plant himselfe so nighe the kinge, thought then to withdrawe his appetite from Winchester, and then moved the king to give my lord a pension of four thousand markes out of Winchester, and all the rest to distribute among his nobility and servants; and soe likewise to divide the revenues of St. Albans: whereof some had three hundred marks, and some a hundred pounds, and soe some more and some less; and all the revenues of the lands belonging to the colledge of Oxenforde [11]

[11] *The colledge of Oxenforde.*] "The revenues also of his two colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other affliction: insomuch that he wrote to the king, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the college of Oxford might stand, and importuned Cromwell to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith he, *opera manuum tuarum.* But Cromwell returned him no comfort herein, saying, 'the king was determined to dissolve them, though whether he meant to restore them again, and found them in his own name, he knew not; but wishes him to be content,' &c. Howsoever, in the traffic concerning these and other lands, as well as negociating his master's business, Cromwell shewed that dexterity which at last won him

and Ipswiche, the kinge toke into his owne hands; whereof master Cromewell had the receipt and government before by my lorde his assignment; wherefore it was thought very necessary that he should so have still, who executed all things thereof so exactly and wittily, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein, and also for the true and faithful demeanour towards his lord and master.

Then it came to passe that those to whome the kings majestie had given any annuities or fees, for terme of life, by patent could not be good, but only during my lords life, forasmuch as the king had no longer estate therein, the which he had by reason of my lord his attaynder in the *premunire*, and to make their estates good and sufficient for the termes of their lives, there was none other shifte but to obtaine my lords confirmation of their patents. And this to be brought aboute, there was no meane, but to sue to master Cromewell to obtaine the same at my lord his handes, whom they thought the best instrument for their purpose.

Then began every man bothe noble and gentleman [12] who had any patents of the kinge out of Winchester or St. Albans, to make suite to Mr. Cromewell to solicit the cause to my lorde, to get therein his confirmation; and for his paines therein, bothe worthely to rewarde him, and every man to shewe him such pleasures, as should be at all times in their severall powers,

much credit both with the king and his principal counsellors."—Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 382.

[12] *Both noble and gentleman.*] "These were the Lord Sandys and his son Sir Thomas, Sir William Fitzwilliam (afterwards Earl of Southampton), Sir Henry Guilford, Sir John Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford), and Sir Henry Norris. Their pensions ought to have ceased at the death of the cardinal, who had only a life interest in the bishopric: but they were then settled on them for life by act of parliament. Rolls, clxxxviii. St. 22 Henry VIII. 22. State Papers, i. 355." Lingard, vi. 161.

whereof they assured him. Wherein master Cromewell perceived an occasion given him by time to help himselfe, and to bring to passe that he long sought for; intending to worke in this matter according to their desires, the soner to bringe his owne enterprise and purpose to passe.

Then at his next retourne to my lorde, he moved this matter unto him, and so persuaded with him, that they bothe wrought together to bringe in master Cromewell in place, where he might doe good to my lorde, and to himselfe. Now began matters to worke to bringe master Cromewell into estimation, in suche sorte as was much hereafter to his increase of dignity; and every man having an occasion to have my lord his confirmation to their pattents, made new earnest suite unto him, who undertooke to do his beste. And having the ordering and disposition of the landes of these colleges, he had a great occasion of suitors, besides the continual access to the king, by meanes whereof, and through his witty demeanour, he grewe continually into the kings favour, as ye shall hereafter hear in this history.—But first let us retourne to the business for the assuraunce of all those great pattents, which the king hath given and graunted to diverse noblemen and other gentlemen of his servants, wherein master Cromewell made great suite to my lorde, so that in processe he served so their tournes that they had their purpose, and he their good will. Thus rose his name and friendly acceptaunce with all men. The fame of his honesty and wisdome came to the king, and he perceived no lesse by his wise demeanors in those receipts and governments that he had of those landes as I shewed you before; and the conference that he had therein with the king, caused the king to repute him to be a very wise man, and a mete instrument to serve his grace, as after it came to passe.

Sir, nowe the lords thought very longe to have my lord removed further out of the kings way; wherefore among other of my lords, my lord of Norfolke saide to master Cromewell, "Cromewell," quoth he, "me thinketh that the cardinall thy master maketh no haste to goe northwarde. Tell him if he goe not away but shall tarry, I shall teare him with my teethe[1]. Therefore I would advise him to prepare himselfe away, as shortly as he can, or else he shall be sent forwarde." These wordes master Cromewell reported to my lord at his next repare unto him, who then had an occasion to resort unto him, for the dispatche of the noble and gentlemens pattents. And here I will leave off this matter, and shewe you of my lord his comming and continuing at Richmond.

My lord having license of the king, which master Cromewell obtained for him, as I shewed you before in this history, to repare unto Richmond, he made haste all that he could to prepare thitherwarde; and so he came and lodged there within the lodge of the great parke, which was a very pretty house and neat, lacking no roomes that be convenient for so little a house, where was also a very faire garden. There my lord lay[2] from the time of his

[1] *Teare him with my teeth.*] An allusion to his badge, see p. 183, note.

[2] *There my lord lay.*] Whilst at Richmond, Wolsey earnestly requested the help of Francis I., and of Louise of Savoy, that monarch's mother: "El R. Card. d'Yorch qual hora si trova apresso di Richemont, quà minio cinque miglia, instantemente solicita la sua causa apresso V. M. con ogni reverentia pregando lei e Madama, col sovenir' alla sua indigentia, manifestare la lor bontà, pietà, verso lui; e memoria del suo prestato offitio e fatto servitio à V. M. e in tempo opportuno e necessario, cossì disse, sogiogendo se da V. M. e da Madama, si come lui non solo spera, ma al fermo si promette e expetta, tenendoli promessa, che cossì disse, e alla sua miseria havendo compassione, à questa sua indigentia serà sovenuti che quanto più grande è stato ed è el suo caso ed infortunio ed in consequentia la sua necessità, questa demon-

comming from Asshur unto Lent[3], with a pretty number of servants, because the house was very small for his whole familie; and the rest of his servants went to borde wages.

I will tell you a pretty tale, by the way of communication. As my lorde was accustomed to walke towardes the evening in his garden there, and to say his evensonge, and other his divine ser-

stration' ed effetto di V. M. serà ascritta non solo à maggior testimonio, ma ad eterna memoria ed exempio della grandess. bontà, pietà e benignità de V. M. e de Madama per el suo fidato homo; havendo me S. Sign. prettamente ricercato per sua parte de quanto sopra avertire V. M. non gli possendo mancar' de questo offitio, con ogni reverentia l'ho fatto; del detto homo havuta promessa che le soprad. iij. quittancie fra quattro giorni mi seran date." Letter from Giov. Gioac. di Passano to Francis I., 15 March, 1530. Le Grand, iii. 411.

From Du Bellay's statement, it is clear that Wolsey had received "presents" from the duchess of Angoulême, and was more *French* than *Imperial*. "Je vous asseure que la plus grand prinse que ses ennemis ayent euë sur luy, outre celle du mariage, ce a esté de persuader ce roy qu'il avoit tousjours eu en temps de paix et de guerre intelligence secrette à madame, de laquelle la dicte guerre durant il avoit eu de grans presens, qui furent cause que Suffolc estant à Montdidier, (see p. 62) il ne le secourut d'argent comme il debvoit, dont advint qu'il ne print Paris: mais ils parlent en l'oreille de ce propos, afin que je n'en sois adverty. *Quant au dits presens, il espere que madame ne luy nuira où il en sera parlé,* de toultes aultres choses il s'en recommande en sa bonne grace."—Bishop of Bayonne to Montmorency, 17 Oct. 1529. Le Grand, iii. 373, 374.

Wolsey's pension appears to have been paid to him half-yearly, and up to the time of his fall, even if not afterwards: Giov. Gioac. di Passano, through whom, probably, the payments were made, writes from the Moore, on the 11th April, 1530, to Francis I., stating that he had obtained from Wolsey (who was then at Richmond), two acquittances for May and November 1528, and that he expected the acquittance for May, 1529. "Dal. Card. Diorch finalmente ho havuto le due quittancie de Magio e Novembre, 1528, et la terza de Magio, 1529, che per causa non m'ha mandato, procurerò haver." Le Grand, iii. 419. In April, 1530, Wolsey could not have given acquittances on the king's account.

[3] *Unto Lent.*] In 1530, Ash Wednesday fell on March 2.

vice with his chapleine, it was my chaunce to waite upon him there; and standing in an alley, whilst he in another alley walked with his chapleine, saying his service, as is aforesaide; as I stode, I espied certaine images of beastes counterfeited in timber, standing in a corner under the lodge, to the which I repared to behold. Among whom I sawe stand there a dunne cowe, whereon I most mused, because of the likely entailing[4] thereof. My lorde being in the further side of the garden, espied me, howe I vewed and surveied those beastes; and having finished his service, came soddenly upon me, or I was ware, and speaking unto me, saide, "What have you espied here, that you look so attentively upon?"

"Forsoothe, if it please your grace," quoth I, "here I behold these images; the which I suppose were ordeined to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeyt, sir, among them all, I have most considered this cowe, in which (as me seemeth) the workman has most lively shewed his cunning." "Yea, mary" quoth he, "upon this cowe hangeth a certain prophecy, the which is this; because peradventure you never heard it before, as I will shewe you. There is a saying,

"'When the cowe rideth the bull,
Then, priest, beware thy scull.'"

Of which prophecy neither my lord hath declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effecte; although the compassing thereof was at that present a-working, and about to be brought to passe. This cowe the king gave by reason of the earldom of Richmonde[5], which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was

[4] *Entailing.*] From the Ital. *intagliare*, to cut, carve, &c.

[5] *By reason of the earldom of Richmonde.*] No trace of this badge or cognizance is to be found in Segar, Sandford, Gale, or Whittaker, nor in the common sources of information.

afterwards expounded in this wise. The dunne cowe, because it was the kings beaste, betokened the king; and the bull betokened mistress Anne Bulleine, which was after queene, because that her father gave a blacke bulls heade in his cognisaunce, and was his beaste. So that when the king had married queen Anne, the which was then unknowen to my lorde, or to any other that he would doe so, then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled [6]. For, what number of priestes, religious and seculers,

[6] *Thought of all men to be fulfilled.*] This curious story is singularly corroborated by some circumstances, which appear hitherto to have escaped notice, indicating a desire, on the part of Henry, to avoid as far as possible the use of the name and arms of Bullen. That it was not by reason of the inferiority of the family of Anne is proved from Lord Percy's declaration, that it was equal with his own: "although she be but a simple maid, having but a knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble blood and parentage. As for her mother, she is nigh of the Norfolk's blood, and as for her father, he is descended of the earl of Ormond, being one of the earl's heirs general. Why should I then, sir, be any thing scrupulous to match with her, whose estate and descent is equal with mine, even when I shall be in most dignity?" (See p. 48 of this volume.) Yet in the letters patent, by which she was created marchioness of Pembroke, she is styled not Anna Bullen, but Anna *Rochford*, which was not a name, but a *title* of her father. In the arms which she bore as marchioness of Pembroke, her paternal coat of Bullen (*being that alluded to in the prophecy*, argent a chevron gules between three *bulls' heads* couped sable), is wholly omitted. The arms granted to her as marchioness consisted of four quarters, viz., Butler of Ormond; Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk; Rochford; and Warren and Surrey. As queen she bore the same, with three additional quarters, granted to her as augmentations by Henry, viz. Lancaster, Angoulême, and Guienne; still omitting the coat of Bullen. Now to Catherine Howard, Jane Seymour, and Catherine Parr, Henry also granted augmentations, but in their several achievements the coats of Howard, Seymour, and Parr formed the second quarter. Anne Bullen's is the exception. It is not easy to account for this, save from a probable desire, on the part of Henry, to nullify the coarse allusion in the proverb repeated by Wolsey.

Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, is a volume written

lost their heades for offending such lawes as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknowne to all the worlde. Therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled upon this occasion.

Nowe, what dark riddelles and prophecies be, you may behold in the same: for before it came to passe there was not the wisest divinour, that could perfectly declare it, as it came to passe. Trust not therefore to any kind of darke prophecies, wherein ye may, as many have bene, be deceived; and which hath brought many to destruction. And often the imagining to avoide such straunge prophecies hath bin the very occasion, the soner to bring the same to performaunce and effect. Therefore let men beware to deme and assure themselves upon any such prophecy; for who so doeth shall first deceive himselfe, and then bring many into error with him; whereof experience hath bin of late, the more pitty. But if men will needes think themselves so wise, that they think they be assured of such prophecies, and will worke their willes therein, either to avoide or fulfill the same, God sende him well to speede, for he may as well and much soner, take damage than avoide the daunger thereof! Therefore let prophecies alone, a God's name, and apply your vocation, and commit such riddles unto him that both knoweth the sequell, and can torne the same at his pleasure, and after all your enterprises to nothing, and cause you to repent your folly, the which you will confesse, when

for Anne's use, when marchioness of Pembroke, with her arms in it (see an account of it in the *British Magazine*, April, 1846, vol. xxix. pp. 361—368), and in the Old Royal Library is another volume with her arms as queen. These last occur also in the title-page of Marsilius's *Defence of Peace, &c.*, published by Marshall in 1535. A copy of her patent of peerage is in one of the Harleian MSS. which also belonged to her, and which contains a recital of the various grants made to her by Henry.

you shall smarte, for it yourselfe, and find it to be bothe great folly and much more foolishness to trust in such fantasies. Commit therefore all to God and to his disposition, who governeth and punisheth according to his pleasure, and not to all men's judgement.

You have heard heretofore what wordes the duke of Norfolke had to master Cromewell touching my lord his going unto his benefice at Yorke. At such time as master Cromewell repaired next to my lord, then shewed he him the wordes that my lorde of Norfolke had commaunded him to say. "Mary, Thomas," quoth my lord, "then it is time to be going, if he take it so. Therefore I pray you to go to the king, and ye may say that I would goe to my benefice at Yorke, but for lacke of money; desiring his grace to helpe me with some. For ye may say, the last money I received from his grace, hathe bin too little to paye my old debts; and to compell me to the payment of the rest of my debts hath bin too much extremity; bothe to take from me all my goods, and to put me to the paiment of my debts also; wherein I trust his grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may also shewe my lord of Norfolke, and other of the counsell, that I would departe if I had money." "Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "I shall doe my best." And after other communication he departed againe, and went to London.

My lord then in the beginning of lent removed out of the Lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging, which doctor Collet made for himselfe[7], untill he removed north-

[7] *Collet made for himselfe.*] "In the year 1414, King Henry V. founded at this place, an house for the maintenance and support of forty monks of the Carthusian order, whom he incorporated by the name of the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at Shene. The foundation charter describes it as built on the

warde; which was in the Passion Weeke[8] after; and every day resorted to the Charterhouse there, and in afternoones he would sit in contemplation with one of the most auncient fathers of that house in their celles, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vaine glory of the world, and gave him shirtes of heare to weare, the which he ware diverse times after. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation.

Whan master Cromewell came to the court, he shewed my lord of Norfolke that my lord would most gladly goe northwarde, but for lacke of money, wherein he desired his helpe to the king. Then was the king moved therein, as well by master Cromewell, as by the counsell; the which matter the king referred to determine and assigne to the counsell; who were in diverse opinions. Some would he should have none, some would he should have enough, and some would have him to have but a small somme; and some thought it should be much against the king's dignity and honnor, and also very much against the counsellors honnor, to see him want, that had bin in such estimation with the king, and in great authority in this realme; yea, and it should rather

north side of his manor-house or palace there; being 3125 feet in length, and 1305 feet 8 inches in breadth. . . . . The length of the hall was 44 paces, and the breadth 24: the great quadrangle 120 paces long, and 100 broad: the cloisters a square of 200 paces, and 9 feet in height. Nor was the founder's munificence in the endowment of it, unbecoming the magnificence of the structure itself." . . . . "Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school there, built him lodgings within these walls, in which, having retired hither on being seized a third time with the sweating sickness, he died 16th September, 1519." Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. i. pp. 417. 420. Cardinal Wolsey, during his retirement in this monastery, occupied these lodgings.

[8] *Passion Weeke.*] Passion Sunday was April 3rd, 1530.

be a slander to the kinge and his whole realme amonge forreine potentates, to see him want that had so much, and now so little. "Therefore," quoth one of them, "rather than he should lacke (although he never did me a pleasure), yet would I lay all my plate to gage for him for a thousand poundes, rather than he should departe northwarde, so bare and simply, as some would have him to doe. Let us doe to him as we would be done unto; considering the lightness of his offense, and the greate inestimable substaunce that he hathe departed withall, only for the king's pleasure, rather than he would disobey his grace's will." So after longe debate in this matter, it was concluded, that he should have by the way of a prest[9], a thousand markes of his pension out of Winchester, the which the king had graunted him out thereof, because the king had resumed the same bishopricke wholly into his hands; and yet out of the same he had graunted diverse other great pensions to many of the noblemen and other of his counsell, so that I doe suppose, all things accompted, the least part was his. So, when this determination was concluded, they declared the same to the king, who streightway commaunded the said thousand markes to be delivered out of hand to master Cromewell; and so it was. The king commaunded Master Cromewell to resorte to him againe, when he had received the same somme of money. And according to the same commaundement,

[9] *By the way of a prest.*] *Prêt, Somme prêtée.* Fr. A sum in advance. *Imprest* is a word still used officially.

"Commend me to all our faithfull brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty *souldiours* in Christ. They have taken his *prest money* a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's *camp* into the world, as many do."—Letter of John Philpot, Fox's *Acts*, p. 1664.

when he had received the money, he repaired againe to the king; to whom the king saide, "Shewe my lord, although our counsell have assigned no somme of money, for to beare his charge, yet ye shall shewe him in my behalfe, that I have sent a thousand poundes of my benevolence, and tell him that he shall not lacke, and bid him be of good cheare." Master Cromewell most humbly, on my lord his behalf, thanked the king for his noble harte and great liberallity, towardes my lord, "whose comfortable wordes of your grace," quoth he, "shall rejoice him more than three times the value of the money." And therewith departed, and came directly unto my lord to Richmond; to whom he delivered the money, and shewed him of all the debate and progresse of all the matter in counsell, and what money, and whereof it was levied that they sent him; and of the money which the king sent; adding thereto the kings comfortable sayings [10] and message, wherein my lord did not a little rejoice, but toke thereof greate pleasure and comforte. Then did master Cromewell counsell with him for the furniture of his journey into the Northe: wherein they included many things to be done, as I shall recite hereafter.

Then prepared my lord all things with speede for his journey, and repaired into the Northe with all celerity, and sent to London for livery clothes for his servants, that should ride with him thither. Some of his servants he refused, suche as he thought were not meete to serve; and some againe of their own minde desired

[10] *The kings comfortable sayings.*] On the 27th of March, 1530, Henry sent from Windsor a letter to William, lord Dacre, warden of the North, recommending to him "the lord Cardenall archebisshop of York" . . . "mynding to reside in that his province for the better administracion of the cure to hym committed, which now of a long season hath been orbate, and destitute of an archebishop there resident." III. Ellis, ii. 172.

his honnur to tarry still in the south, being very lothe to forsake their native country, their parents, wives, and children, whom he right gladly and with good will licensed so to doe, and rendered unto them his harty thanks for their longe tarrying with him in his trouble. So that, all things being furnished towards his journey, he tooke the same in the beginning of the Passion Weeke, before Easter; and so rode from Richmond to a place which was the abbots of Westminster, called Hendon [11]; and the next day he removed to a place where my lady Parrey lay, called the Rye [12]; the next day he rode to Royston, where he was lodged in the priory there; then went he the next day to Huntington, and there lodged within the abbey; and the next day he rode to Peterborough, and there lodged in the abbey, makinge there his abode all the next weke, where he kept the solemne feast of Easter, with all his traine, (save a fewe in nomber, which were continually attending on him) who were lodged in the towne, and had borde wages; his traine was in number a hundred and three score persons, haveing with him twelve cartes to carry his stuffe of his owne, which he sent for from his colledge of Oxenforde, that were there provided, besides three score other cartes of his daily carriage of necessaries, for his buildings. Upon

[11] *Hendon.*] The manor of Hendon was given by Richard le Rous, in 1312, to the abbot and convent of Westminster; at the dissolution of the monasteries, it was made part of the endowment of the new bishopric of Westminster, which was resigned in 1550 by Thomas Thirlby, and the see suppressed. The manor of Hendon was granted in the same year to a layman, Sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke.

[12] *The Rye.*] In Stansted Abbot, near Hoddesdon. Sir Andrew Agard or Ogard, who built the house, of which some part now remains, had license in the time of Henry VI. to impark the site of the manor of the Rye, and to erect a castle there. It is noted as the scene of the Rye House plot in 1683.

Palme Sundaye[1] he bare his palme, and went in procession, with the monkes, setting forth the devine service right honourably, with suche singing men, as he then had there of his owne. And upon Maunday Thursday he made his Maundy there in our Ladies chappelle, having fifty-nine[2] pore men, whose feet he washed, and kissed; and after he had wiped them, he gave every of the saide pore men twelve pence in money, three ells of good canvass to make them shirtes, a paire of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two shillings. Upon Easter day[3] he rose to the resurrection[4], and that day he went in

[1] *Palme Sundaye.*] 10th April, 1530. Maunday Thursday the 14th April.

[2] *Fifty-nine.*] This number denotes that he was now fifty-nine years old.

[3] *Easter day.*] 17th April, 1530.

[4] *He rose to the resurrection.*] The book of Ceremonies before cited, which was compiled in the reign of Henry VIII. observes: "Upon Easter-day in the morning *the ceremonies* of the *resurrection* be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, which is the cause of our justification." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials,* vol. i. p. 294. Records. What these ceremonies were we may collect from the Rubrics upon that day, in the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum,* fol. 72, edit. 1555, which are to this effect: On Easter day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed, let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens.* Then let the procession commence. After this let all worship (*adorent*) the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, &c. &c. In like manner Good Friday also had its peculiar ceremonies. Bishop Longland closes his sermon preached on that day before king Henry VIII., A.D. 1538, in the following manner: "In meane season I shall exhorte you all in our Lord God, *as of old custome hath here this day bene used,* every one of you or ye departe, with moost entire devocyon, knelynge tofore our savyour Lorde God, this our Jesus Chryst, whiche hath suffered soo muche for us, to whome we are soo muche bounden, *whoo lyeth in yonder sepulchre;* in honoure of hym, of his passyon and deathe, and of his five woundes, to say five Paternosters, five Aves, and one Crede: that it may please his mercifull goodness to make us parteners of the merites of this his most gloryous passyon, bloode,

procession in his cardinalls vesture, haveing his hat on his heade, and sang the high masse there he himselfe solemnely. After his masse he gave his benediction to all the hearers with cleane remision [5]; and there continued he till Thursday next.

My lord continuying there at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence shortly, commaunded me to ride to sir William Fitzwilliams [6] knight, who dwelt within three or foure miles from Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging, for three or foure daies, in his journey northwardes. And being with this sir William Fitzwilliams, I did my message accordingly; whereof he was, as it appeared by his worde and dede, the gladdest man alive, that my lord would so lovingly take his house in his way; saying that he should be most heartily welcome of any man, the king his soveraigne except; saying furthermore that my lord should not nede to dislode or discharge any parte of his stuffe and carriage for his owne use, during his abode

and deathe." *Imprynted by Thomas Petyt.* See also Michael Wood's *Dialogue, or Familiar Talks,* A.D. 1554. Signat. D. 3.

[5] *With cleane remision.*] See above, n. (6) p. 85.

[6] *Sir William Fitzwilliams.*] He was sheriff of London in 1506, alderman of Bread-street ward, high sheriff of Essex in 1514, and of Northamptonshire in 1521. His conduct towards Wolsey was noble; "when interrogated by his majesty, how he durst entertain so great an enemy to the state? he answered, that he had not contemptuously or wilfully done it, in disobedience to his majesty, but only as the cardinal had been his master, and (partly) the means of his greatest fortunes: at which answer the king was so well pleased, that, saying he had few such servants, he immediately knighted him, and made him one of his privy council." Collins, by Brydges, iv. 387. He is the lineal ancestor of the Earl Fitzwilliam. He is not to be confounded with another Sir William Fitzwilliam, living at the same time, who was not a merchant, but an ambassador, statesman, warrior, lord high admiral, and privy seal, K.G., and at last earl of Southampton, but died without issue in 1543. He subscribed the articles exhibited against Wolsey, 21 Henry VIII.

there; but should have all necessary stuffe of his owne to occupy, unles it were my lordes bed for his own person. This upon reporte made to my lord at my retourne, rejoiced him not a little: and he commaunded me to give warning unto all his officers and servauntes to prepare them to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next, which was in Easter weke. Then made every man himself, and all things in such readiness, as was convenient, paying in the towne for all such things as they had taken; for which cause my lord caused proclamation to be made in the towne, that if any person or persons were greved by any of his servants, they should resorte to his officers, and there they should be answered, and have due remedy; so that, all things redy furnished, my lord toke his journey from the abbey of Peterborough on the Thursday in Easter weeke[7], to Mr. Fitzwilliams, where he was joiously received, and had worthy and honorable entertainement at the only costes and charge of the said Mr. Fitzwilliams all the time of my lord his being there with him.

The occasion that moved Mr. Fitzwilliams thus friendly to doe, was this: he was sometime a merchant of London, and sheriffe thereof, and bore the charge of the same in the said city: and after there fell a great debate and grudge betweene the bench of aldermen and the said sir William, for that he would have a new corporation of Merchaunt Taylors, contrary to the order of the citty, the which caused him to surender up his cloake, and gave over his freedom of the citty; against whose malice my lord bare him much, and after received him into his service, whome he made his treasurer, and after that his high chamberleine, and in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, eloquence, and porte, being a

[7] *Thursday in Easter weeke.*] 21 April, 1530.

comely gentleman, my lord made him one of the king's counsell, who so continued during all his life after. And for the speciall goodness he alwaies found in my lord in his trouble with the citty, like a faithful servant he was redy then most joyfully to requite him with the semblable, and graunted to shew him any pleasure that lay in him to doe.

Thus my lord continued there from Thursday in Easter weke, at Mr. Fitzwilliams costes, untill the Monday next[8] following; at which time he removed from thence unto Stamforde; where he lay all night, at the signe of the bull. And the next day he removed from thence to Grantham, and was lodged in a gentlemans place whose name was Mr. Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night, and the next day also; which is within four miles of Southwell, whither my lord intended to ride, and there to continue, as here after ye shall heare.

I cannot chose but to declare unto you a notable communication had at Mr. Fitzwilliams house, between my lorde and me, which was this: My lord walking in the garden at Mr. Fitzwilliams his house, saying his evensong with his chapleine, and I being there attending upon him, after he had finished his praiers, he commaunded his chapleine that bare up his gowne traine to deliver the same to me, and to goe aside; and after the chapleine was gone, he spake to me in this wise, calling me by my name, "Ye have bine lately at London," quoth he; "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "not since I was there to buy your liveries for your servants." "And what newes was there then," quoth he; "heard you no communication of me? I pray you tell me." Then

[8] *Monday next.*] 25th April, 1530.

perceiving that I had a good occasion to speake my mind unto him, I said, "Sir, if it please your grace, it was my chaunce to be at dinner in a certaine place, where I also supped, and many honest worshipful gentlemen, who were for the most parte of mine old acquaintance, and therefore durst the bolder participate with me in conversation of your grace, knowing that I was still your servant; and they asking of me howe ye did, and how you accepted your adversity and trouble; I answered that you did well, and accepted all things in good parte; and as it seemed to me, they were your indifferent friends, of whome they said none evill, but lamented your decay and fall very sore, doubting much the sequell not to be good for the common wealth. Also they mervailed much that you, being of such excellent witt, and of such high discretion, would so simply confesse yourselfe guilty unto the king, as you did. For, as they understode by reporte of some of the kings counsell, your case being well considered, you have great wronge: to the which I could make no direct answer." "Is this," quoth he, "the opinion of wise men?" "Yea forsothe, my lord," quoth I, "and commonly of all men else." "Well then," quoth he, "for all their wisdome, they perceived not so much as I. For I considered, that mine enemies had brought the matter so to passe against me, that they conveied and made it the kings matter and case, and caused the king to take the matter into his owne hands; and after he had once the possession of all my goods, being the kings only case, rather than he would have delivered me my goods againe, and taken a foile or overthrow therein at my hands, without doubte he would not have missed (by the setting forthe and procurement of my evil-willers) to have imagined my undoing and destruction therein; whereof the best had bine perpetual imprisonment, or the daunger

of my life. I had rather confesse the matter, as I did, and to live at large, like a poor vicar, than to live in prison with all the goods and honors I then had. And therefore it was for me the better way to yeild me unto the kings mercy and clemency, than to stand stiffe against him in triall of the wronge, which I sustained; wherein the king would have bine bothe to have bine noted, and in my submission, the king, I doubt not, had a conscience, wherein he would rather pitty me than maligne me. And also there was the nighte-crowe, that cried ever[9] in his ears against me; and if she might have perceived any obstinacy in me; she would not have failed to have set it forthe with such vehemence, that I should rather have obtained the kings indignation, than his lawful favor: and his favor once lost (which I then knewe that I then had done) would never have bin by me recovered. Therefore I thought it better to kepe still his favor, with losse of goods and dignity, than to win his indignation with all my wit, truthe, and policy. And this was the cause (which all men know not) that I yealded myselfe so soone guilty to the *premunire;* wherein the king hath since conceived a conscience; for he knoweth, and allwaies did, more the effect thereof than any other person living, and whether I offended him therein or no, to whose conscience I commit the truthe of my cause." And thus we lefte the substance of our communication in this matter; although we had much more talke: yet this is sufficient to make you understande, as well bothe the cause of his confession in the *premunire*, as also the occasion of the losse of his goods.

Now let us retourne where we lefte my lorde, being now at the castle of Newarke, intending to ride to Southwell, which was but

[9] *Nighte-crowe, that cried ever.*] Evidently meaning Anne Bullen. See note at p. 192.

four miles from thence, as I shewed you before. He toke his journey thither against supper, where for lacke of reparation [10] of the bishoppe's place, which belonges to the see of Yorke, he was compelled to lie in a prebendaries house, over against the bishoppes place, and there kept house untill Whitsontyde [11], against which time he removed into the place, being then newly repaired, and there continued all the most parte of that sommer, not without great resorte of the most worshipful of the country. And diverse noblemen, having occasion to repaire into the same country there, thought it good to visit my lord, as they travailed through the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had right good chere, whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have much love in the country of all kinde of people. He kept there a noble house, where was bothe plenty of meate and drinke for all comers, and also muche almes given at the gate to the poore of the towne and country. He used much charity and clemency among his tenants, and other of the kings subjects. Although the hearinge thereof were not pleasaunt in the eares of suche as bare him no good will, yet the country and common people will say as they find cause; for now he was very much familiar among all persons, who then accustomably kept him company, and glad at any time when he might doe them any goode. He made many agreements and concordes betweene gentleman and gentleman, and betweene some gentlemen and

[10] *For lacke of reparation.*] Wolsey, in consequence, had applied to Dr. Thomas Magnus, warden of the collegiate church of Sibthorpe (between Bingham and Newark), for leave to use the warden's house at Sibthorpe on this journey, and so to avoid Southwell. Dr. Magnus wrote to the cardinal from Windsor, on the 18th April, excusing himself from lending the house. III. Ellis, ii. 174. Magnus had been much employed by Wolsey.

[11] *Whitsontyde.*] June 5, 1530.

their wives, and other meane persons, the which had bin long before a sunder in great trouble; making for every of them, as occasion did serve, great assemblies and feastes, not sparing his purse, where he might make a peace and amity; which gat him much love [12] and friendshippe in the contry.

It chaunced so that upon Corpus Christi even [1] my lord gave me a warning, after supper, to prepare all things in a readiness; for he intended to sing high masse the next day following; which I did not forget, although it were late; and I gave like warning to the head officers and other of my fellowes, to see in their romes all things furnished accordingly. I was not after that scantly laid in my bed, nor fully asleepe, but one of the porters came to my chamber dore, calling for me, and sayd, that there were two

[12] *Him much love.*] The favourable representation given of this portion of the cardinal's life, notwithstanding what is said by Fox, p. 908, is fully confirmed by an authority which cannot be suspected of partiality to his memory, that of a State Book, which came out from the office of the king's printer in the year 1536, entitled *A Remedy for Sedition.* "Who was lesse beloved in the northe than my lord cardynall, God have his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloved, after he had ben there a whyle? We hate oft times whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see howe they were turned; howe of utter enemyes they becam his dere frendes. He gave byshops a ryght good ensample, howe they might wyn mens hartys. There was few holy dayes, but he would ride five or six myle from his howse, nowe to this parysh churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours to make a sermone unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayde masse before all the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parysh to it. He enquired, whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the churche, and made them all one. Men say well that do well. Goddes lawes shal never be so set by as they ought, before they be well knowen." Signat. E. 2.

[1] *Corpus Christi even.*] In 1530 Corpus Christi fell on the 16th June; the eve was the 15th.

gentlemen at the gate, that would speake with my lord from the king. I rose up incontinent, and went with the porter to the gate. I demaunded who was there without. They made answer and sayde, that there was Mr. Brereton [2], one of the gentlemen of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly [3], who were come from the kinge in post, to speake with my lorde. Then having understanding what they were, I caused the porter to let them in. And after their entry they desired me without delay to speake with my lord; whose request I endeavoured myselfe to obey, and went to my lord his chamber, who was in his bed a-sleepe. But when he heard me speake, he demaunded of me what I would have. "Sir," said I, "there is beneathe in the porter's lodge, Mr. Brereton of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly, come from the kinge to speake with you: they will not tarry in any wise, but speake with you, and so departe." "Well then," quoth my lord, "bid them come up into the next chamber, and I will prepare myselfe to come to them." Then departed I from my lord, and went downe, and shewed them that my lord desired them to take the paines to come up into his dining chamber; to whome my lord shortly came. They seeing him in night apparel, did to him due reverence; whome he toke by the hands, demaunding of them, how the king his sovereigne lord did. "Sir," saide they, "right well and merry, thanks be to God. Sir," sayd they, "we must desire you to talke with you aparte." "With a right good will," quoth my lord. Then talked they

[2] *Brereton.*] William Brereton, who was afterwards executed as a participator in queen Anne's supposed guilt.

[3] *Wretherly.*] Meaning Thomas Wrethesly, or Wriothesly, afterwards lord chancellor and earl of Southampton, who at this time was one of the clerks of the signet, and king's attorney in the Court of Common Pleas.

with him in secrette in a great windowe; and after longe talke they toke forthe of a little male a close thing, in manner of a little coffer, covered with greene velvet, and bound with barres of silver and gilt, with a locke on the same, having a gilt key, with the which they opened the chest; out of the which they toke an instrument or writing [4], containing more than a skin of great parchment, having many seales hanging to the same, whereunto they put more waxe for my lord his seale; the which my lord sealed, and subscribed his name with his own hande, and delivered the same againe unto them, desiring them (for as much as they made haste to departe) to tarry, and take a bed, for it was very late, about midnight or something past. They thanked him, and saide they might in no wise tarry, but saide they would streightway ride to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and do as much as they could to be there before he should be stirring. And my lord, seeing their speedy haste, caused them to eate such cold meate as there was ready in the house, and to drinke a boll or two of wine. And that done, he gave each of them foure old sovereignes of fine gold, desyring them to take it in gree [5], saying, that if he had bin of greater hability, he would have given them a better rewarde; and so taking their leave they departed. And after they were departed, as I heard say, they were not contented with their rewarde. Indede they were none of his indif-

[4] *Instrument or writing.*] Not improbably the indenture between the king and the cardinal, that the latter should give up the bishoprick of Winchester and the abbey of St. Alban's, in lieu of an annual allowance of 1000 marks. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera,* Holmes's edit. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 147.

[5] *In gree.*] Fr. *gré,* good will.

"—— We ought
Receiven all in gree that God us sent."
Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale.*

ferent friends, which caused them to accept the same so disdainfully. Howbeit, if they had knowne what little store of money he had at that time, being but his indifferent friends, they would have given him great thanks: but nothing is more lost or cast away, than such things as be given to such persons. My lord went againe to bed; and yet neverthelesse, for all his disquietness and smalle rest that he had that night, he rose in the morning betimes, and sang High Masse as he was appointed the night before. There was fewe or none of all the house, besides myself and the porter, that knewe of the going or comming of Mr. Brereton and Mr. Wretherly; and yet there lay in the house many strangers and worshipfull gentlemen of the shire.

After this sorte and manner my lord lay at Southwell [6], untill about the latter end of grasse time; at which time he intended to remove to Scroby, which is an other house and lordeship of the bishopricke of Yorke. And against the day of his removing, he caused his officers to prepare all things in a readiness, as well provision to be made for him there, as also for his carriage thither, and other matters concerning the same. His removing and intente was not so secrete, but that it was abrode knowne in the country; which was not so muche sorrowe to all his neighbours there about Southwell, but it was as joyfull to all the contry about Scroby [7].

Against the day of his removing all the knightes and other worshipfull gentlemen of the shire of that contry [8] came unto

[6] *Lay at Southwell.*] In August, whilst at Southwell, Wolsey wrote to Sir A. Wyngfeld, Sir William Shelley, and twice to Cromwell, on behalf of his colleges. See State Papers, i. 360—370.

[7] *Scroby.*] Near Bawtry.

[8] *Worshipfull gentlemen of the shire of that contry.*] Wolsey was in his own

him to Southwell upon Sonday to dinner, and lay with him all that night, to accompany and attend upon him in that journey the next day, and so to conduct him through the forrest country unto Scroby. But he being of their purpose advertised, and how they intended to lodge a great stagge or twaine by the way, where he should needes ride, purposing to shewe him all the disporte and pleasure that they could devise for him, was very lothe to use any such honnor and disporte, not knowing how the king would take it; being also well assured how his enemies would much rejoice, to understande, that he would take upon him any such presumption, whereby they might finde an occasion to persuade with the kinge how sumptuous he was notwithstanding his adversity and displeasure, and so to bring the king in a perfect ill opinion of him, and thereby brede small hope of reconciliation, but rather to informe the king, that he sought a meane to obtain the favor of the contry than of him; with diverse such imaginations, wherein he might rather obtaine displeasure than honnor. And also he was lothe to make the worshipfull gentlemen privy of this his imagination, least they should conceive any toy in their heades by meanes thereof, and so to leave their accustomed accesse unto him, which was much to his comforte. Therefore he devised an other way, which might be

territory. The civil government of the soke or liberty of Southwell *cum* Scrooby, comprehending twenty townships, is separated from that of the rest of the county of Nottingham. The justices of the peace are appointed by the archbishop of York, but are under a commission from the crown; they hold quarter sessions at Southwell and Scrooby. The chapter of Southwell, by their vicar, exercise all episcopal functions, except confirmation and ordination, over the peculiar of Southwell, which comprehends twenty-eight parishes. The soke and the peculiar are not, however, co-extensive. Late acts of parliament have somewhat interfered with these privileges. By the "worshipfull gentlemen," we may understand the justices whom Wolsey had appointed.

taken rather for a laughing disporte, than otherwise. And thus it was: he first called me unto him secretly at night, going to rest, and commaunded me that I should in most secrette wise that might be, cause six or seven horses, besides his mule, to be in a readiness for him by break of the day, and such persons as he appointed to ride with him to Newsted [9], an abbey in the which he intended to lodge by the way to Scroby, willing me to be also in a readiness to ride with him, and to call him so early that he might hear masse or ever he went forwarde, and be on horse-back by the breake of day.—What will ye have more? All things being accomplished and finished according to his pleasure, he with those small number of persons appointed, mounted on his mule, and set forwarde by the breaking of the day towards Newstede, which was about sixteen miles from thence; whither my lord and we came before six of the clocke in the morning, and so went incontinent unto his bed, leaving all the gentlemen and his household at Southwell in their beddes, not knowing of my lord his sodain departure, whoe expected his uprising untill eight of the clocke. But after it was knowne unto them and to all the rest, there was no more to doe, but every man to his horse-backe, and so galloped after, supposing to overtake him. But he was at his lodging at rest, ere they set forthe out of Southwell, and so was their cheife hunting [10] laid aparte, and the

[9] *To Newsted.*] By which means Wolsey's purpose was effectually answered, for Newstead is directly west of Southwell, whilst Rufford, which was on his nearest road from Southwell, through Shirewood (or Sherwood) Forest and Worksop, to Blithe, is directly north-west of Southwell. The difference between the two routes would be about 30 miles. Newstead came afterwards into the possession of the Byron family, and was sold by the late lord to Col. Wildman.

[10] *Cheife hunting.*] So the MSS. except Harl. 428, which has *great hunting*. But perhaps the true reading is *Cerf* hunting, *i. e. stag-hunting*.

great stagges uncoursed. But at their thither repaire, sitting at dinner, the matter was laughed at, and so merrily jested out, that all was well taken.

Then my lord intending the next day to remove from thence, there resorted to him the earle of Shrewesburys keepers and gentlemen sent from him, to desire my lord, in their maisters behalfe, to hunt in a parke of their maisters called Worsoppe Parke,[11] which was even at hand, and the nearest and best way for my lord to travaile through in his journey, where was much plenty of game, that was laide for him in a readiness to hunt. Howbeit he thanked bothe my lord their maister for his gentleness, and them for their paines: and then saide, he was a man not meete to receive any such pleasure: for such pastime was mete for men of honnor, that delighted themselves therein, for whome he saide it was more convenient than for him. Nevertheless he could doe no lesse than thinke my lorde of Shrewsbury to be much his friend, in whom he found such gentleness and noble offer: and rendered also to him his most lowly thanks, from the very bottom of his harte. But in no wise could they intreat him to hunt. Although the worshipfull men in his company did much provoke him thereto, yet he would not consent,

[11] *Worsoppe Parke.*] The manor of Worksop is one of those held of the crown by the honorary service of grand serjeanty. The duty consists in finding the king a right hand glove at his coronation, and supporting the king's right arm whilst he holds the sceptre. Alethea Talbot, daughter and heiress to Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, married in the early part of James I.'s reign, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and so brought to the Norfolk family the honour and manor of Worksop. It was sold a few years since to the late Duke of Newcastle, whose son, the present Duke, is now the owner. Cavendish's own niece, Mary, became Countess of Shrewsbury, and of course mistress of Worksop, not many years after he wrote this life.

desiring them to be contented; saying that he came not into the contry, to frequent or followe any such pleasures, or pastimes, but rather to attend to a greater care that he had in hand, which was both his study and pleasure. And with such reasons and persuasions he pacified them for the time. Howbeit as he rode through the parke, both my lorde of Shrewesbury servants, and also the aforesaid gentlemen moved him once againe, before whome the deare lay very faire for all purposes of pleasure. But it would not availe; and therefore he made as much spede through the parke as he could. And at the issue out he called the gentlemen, and my lord of Shrewesbury's keepers unto him, desiring them to commend him to my lord their master, thanking him for his most honorable offer, trusting shortly to visite him at his owne house: and gave the kepers forty shillings for their rewarde in conducting him through the parke. And so rode to dinner to an other abbey called Rufford abbey[12]; and after dinner he rode to an other abbey called Blithe, where he lay all nighte. And the next day he came to Scroby[1], where he continued till after Michaelmas, exercising many dedes of charity. And most commonly every Sonday (if the weather did serve) he would tra-

[12] *Rufford abbey.*] Now belonging to the Earl of Scarborough, to whom it has descended from the Saviles. After the suppression the abbey was granted by Henry to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, whose grand-daughter, Mary Talbot, conveyed it by marriage to Sir George Savile.

[1] *To Scroby.*] From Scrooby, Edmond Bonner (afterwards bishop of London, but at this time holding in Wolsey's household the office of master of faculties and spiritual jurisdictions,) wrote to Cromwell, to borrow the *Trionfi* of Petrarca, and the *Cortegiano* of Baldesar Castiglione (which had been printed by Aldus in 1528). Cromwell, who had been long in Italy, had promised to make "a good Italian" of Bonner. The letter was sent by a servant of "Mr. Augustine," that is Agostino degli Agostini, the physician who, together with Bonner, accompanied Wolsey to the north. III. Ellis, ii. 178.

vaile unto some pore parish churche there aboute, and there would say his divine service, and either saie or heare masse, and caused one of his chapleines to preach the word of God unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house in the towne, where should be distributed to the people a great almes of meate and drinke; or of money to supply the want of meate, if the nomber of the pore did so excede in necessity. And thus with other good dedes practising and exercising himselfe during his abode there, as making of love daies and agreements betweene party and party, being at variance, he daily frequented himself there abouts.

Then about the feast of St. Michaell[2] next after, he tooke his journey to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of York; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswalde's abbey, where he in proper person the next day confirmed children in the churche, from the houre of eight untill twelve of the clocke at noon. And, making a short dinner, resorted thither againe soon after one of the clocke, and for weariness, at the last was constrained to call for a chaire; and there confirmed moe children from the saide hour unto six of the clocke towards night, or ever he could finishe and make an ende, the number of the children was suche. That done he went to his supper and rested him there all that night. And the next morning he applied himselfe to departe towards Cawood; and or ever he went, he confirmed almost an hundred children more; and then rode his way from thence. And in his journey at a plaine greene a little beyonde Ferrybridge, within a quarter of a mile, there were assembled, at a great crosse made of stone, a nomber of more

[2] *Of St. Michaell.*] 29th Sept. 1530.

children, accompted by estimation to be about the number of five hundred; where he was faine to alighte, and from thence never removed untill he had fully confirmed them every one; and then toke his mule and rode to Cawood: where he laye long after with much honnor and love of the country, bothe of the worshipfull and of the simple, doing of good deds of charity, and held there an honnorable and plentiful household for all comers; and also built and repaired the castle, which was greatly in decay, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, about the number of three hundred persons, dayly in wages.

Lying there at Cawood he had intelligence by the gentlemen of the contry, that repaired unto him, that there was sprung a great variance and deadly hate betweene sir Richard Tempest[3], knight, and one Mr. Brian Hastings, then being but an esquire, betweene whome was like to ensue great murder, unless some meane mighte be founde to redress the inconvenience that was like to ensue. My lord being thereof advertised, lamenting the case, made such meanes by his wise letters and other persuasions, that these two gentlemen were contente to resorte unto my lord at Cawood, and there to abide his order, highe and lowe. A day was appointed of their thither resorte; at which day they came bothe to Cawood, not without great number on either parte assembled. Wherefore against that day, my lord had required many worshipful gentlemen to be there present, to assiste him

[3] *Sir Richard Tempest.*] Sir Richard Tempest of Bracewell, knt., who was high sheriff for Yorkshire, 8 Henry VIII. He married Rosamond, daughter and heiress of Tristram Bowling, of Bowling Hall, in the same county. He had been one of the courtiers in the early part of Henry's reign; and he was one of those who took part in the splendid tournament which Henry gave on the 12th and 13th Feb., 1511. See II. Ellis, i. 183. His descendants afterwards became possessed of Tong, and were created baronets.

with their endevour to accorde these two gentlemen, being thus at deadly feude. First my lorde commaunded no more to enter the castle with these gentlemen but six of their menyall servants, and all the rest to remaine without in the towne, or where they listed to repaire. And himselfe issuing forthe at the gates, calling the nomber of bothe parties togeither before him, he streightly charged them in the king's name firmely to keep the peace, upon their perilles, without either bragging or quarrelling either with other; and caused them to have bothe bere and wine sent them into the towne. And then he returned into the castle, being about nine of the clocke in the morning. And because he intended to have bothe these gentlemen to dine with him at his owne table, he thought it good to appease the rumour before dinner. Whereupon he called them into his chappell; and, with the assistance of the other worshipful gentlemen, he began to fall to communication in the matter, declaring to them the dangers that were like to ensue by their willfull and stoute stomaches; with many other good and wholesome exhortations. Notwithstanding, the parties laying and alleadging many things for their defense, sometime added stoute and despitefull words of defiance eche to other, which my lord and the other there assembled had much adoe to qualify, their malice was so great.—What will ye have more? With long continuance and depe arguments made unto them by my lorde, at last being there untill foure of the clock in the afternone, my lord brought them to a final concorde and peace, concluding a certaine determinate ende betweene them, the which I doe not now remember; and so made them friends. And as it seemed, they were bothe contented therewith, and very joyous of the same. And then my lord caused them, after they had shaken hands together, to goe arme in arme to

dinner; the sight whereof pleased much the beholders: and so went to dinner, although it were too late to dine[4], yet notwithstanding they dined with the other gentlemen at my lord his table, where was drinking unto eche other, in great amity as the manner is, and making great semblance of amity and love. After dinner my lord caused eche of them to discharge their route and assembly that remained without, out of the towne, and to retaine with them no more than they were accustomed to ride withall. And that done, these gentlemen, fulfilling his commaundement, taryed with all the rest at Cawood, and lay there all that nighte; whome my lorde entertained in suche sorte, that they toke his gentleness in great nobleness and friendship, trusting to have of him a speciall jewell in their country: and so it proved after by their demeanour towardes him, as it shall appeare by their giftes, which they prepared for him against his stallation.

It is not to be doubted but that the worshipful persons, as doctors, and prebendaries of the close of Yorke, would resorte unto my lord according to their duties, as unto the chiefe heade,

[4] *Too late to dine.*] "With us" (says Harrison, in the description of Englande, prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 171) "the nobilitie, gentrie, and students do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or betweene five and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone, and six at night, especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the tearme in our universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may; so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter."

"*Theophilus.* You wente to dinner betyme I perceave. *Eusebius.* Even as I doe commonly, when I have no busynes, betwene nyne and ten; me thinkes it is a good houre: for by that meanes I save a breakfast, whyche for such idlers as I am, is most fittest."—*Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus.* Signat. B. 4. A.D. 1556.

father and patron of their spirituall dignity, at his first comming into the country so nighe their churche, which was but bare six miles. Wherefore ye shall understande that Doctor Hickden, then doctor of the churche[6] of Yorke, a worshipfull man and a divine, with the treasurer, and diverse other officers of the same college, repaired to my lord, and most joyfully welcomed him into those partes; saying that it was to them no small comforte to see their heade among them, who hath bine so long absent from them, being all the while like fatherless and comfortlesse children; but they trusted shortly to see him among them in his owne churche. To whome he aunswered, that it was the speciall cause of his comming, not only to be among them for a time, but also to continue his life among them, as a father and as a natural brother. "Sir then," quoth they, "ye must understande the ordinaunces and rules of our churche, whereof although ye be heade and governour, yet ye be not therewith so well acquainted as we be. Therefore, if it please your grace, we shall, under supportation of the same, open unto you some parte of our auncient lawes and customes of our churche. Sir, where ye doe intend to repaire unto us, the old lawe and custome hath evermore bin suche, that our head prelate and pastor, as ye now be, could, ne ever mighte, come above our quier dore, nor have any stall in the quire, untill he by due order were there stalled. Nor, if you should happen to die before your stallation, ye shall not be buried above in the quier, but in the nether parte of the body of the churche. Therefore we shall heartely desire, in the name

[6] *Doctor of the churche.*] So the MSS., excepting that the York copy, over the word doctor, in another hand, has *dean,* which, perhaps, is the true reading. Dr. Brian Higden was Dean of York from 1516 to 1539. Dr. John Higdon (or as Wood calls him, Hygden,) was Dean of the Cardinal's College at Oxford, and died in 1532.

of all our brethren, that ye would vouchsafe to doe, herein, as our honorable fathers your predecessors have done; and that ye will breake no laudable custome of our churche, to the which we be obliged by othe at our first admittaunce, to observe that, and diverse others, which in our chapiter remaine in recorde." "Those recordes," quoth my lord, "would I faine see; and this sene and digested, I shall then shewe you further of my minde." And thus in this matter they ceased communication, and passed the time with other matters; so that a day was assigned to bringe in their records to my lord. At which day they resorted unto him with their register and booke of records, wherein were written their constitutions and rules, which all the ministers of their churche were chearely bounde to observe on their behalfe, and to see them kept inviolable. And when my lorde had seene and reade those recordes, and debated the same substauntially with them that brought these bookes, he determined to be stalled there at Yorke Minster, the next Monday after Allhallowne day[7]. Against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in so sumptuous a wise, as were his predecessors before him; ne yet in such sorte as the fame and common reporte was afterwardes made of him, to his great slaunder, and to the reporters no small dishonesty, to reporte such lies as I am persuaded they did, to the which I was made privy. I was sent by my lorde to Yorke to foresee things there, that should be ordered and provided for the solempnyty, which should have bin as meane as could be, considering the former decent honors of the worthy Minister of Yorke.

[7] *Monday after Allhallowne day.*] In 1530 Allhallows day (Nov. 1) fell on Tuesday. It was Wolsey's intention, therefore, to be installed on Monday the 7th.

It came so to passe, that upon Allhallowne day, one of the head officers of the church, which should have the most doing in all this stallation, was with my lorde at dinner, at his house at Cawood; and sitting at dinner they fell in communication of this matter, and of the order thereof, saying that my lorde should goe on foote from a chappell (which standeth without the gates of the city called St. James's chappell,) unto the Minster upon clothe, the which should be distributed to the pore after his passage. My Lord hearing this made aunswer to the same in this wise. "Although that our predicessors did goe upon clothe, soe we intend to goe on foote from thence without any such glory[8], in the vaumpes of our hosen. For I take God to my judge, I doe not intend to goe thither for any triumphe or glorye, but only to perform the rules of the churche, to the which I am bounde. And therefore I will desire you all, and will commaund other of my servants, to goe as humbly thither, without any sumptuous or gorgious apparell, otherwise then in decent manner. For I doe purpose to come unto Yorke upon Sonday next against nighte, and to lodge in the deanes house, and upon Monday to be stalled; and there to make but one dinner for you all of the close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come thither to the same; and to sup with some of the Residences; and the next

[8] *Without any such glory.*] The cardinal, perhaps, remembered the credit which was gained by his successful rival, cardinal Adrian, who being elected to the papacy by the conclave, through the influence of the emperor Charles V., "before his entry into the citie of Rome" (as we are told by one of Sir Thomas More's biographers), "putting off his hose and shoes, (and as I have credibly heard it reported) bare-footed and bare-legged, passed through the streets towards his palace, with such humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence."—Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More.* Lambeth MSS. No. 827. fol. 12.

day to dine with the mayor, and then to repaire home hither againe; and so to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resorte to Yorke."

The day being once knowne unto all the country, which could not be hid, the worshipful gentlemen and other, as abbots and priors, having notice of the day of my lord his stallation, sent in such provision of victuall, that it is almost incredible; wherefore I omit to declare unto you the certainety thereof. But there wanted no store of great and fat beastes and muttons, wildfowle, and venison, bothe red and fallowe, and other dainty things such as would have plentifully furnished his feaste, all which things were unknowne to my lorde: forasmuche as he being prevented and disappointed of his purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of highe-treason, as ye shall hereafter hear; so that most parte of this sommer provision, that I spake of before, was sent unto Yorke the same day of his arrest, and the next day following; for his arrest was kept as close and secrete from the country as might be, because they doubted the common people, which had him in great estimation and love, for his great charity and liberality, which he used dayly among them, with familiar gesture and behaviour, which be the very meanes to attaine the love of the people of the northe partes.

Sir, or ever I wade any further in this matter, I doe intend to declare unto you what chaunced before his last trouble at Cawood, as a signe or token given by God what should followe; which, at the doing of the very thing, no suche sequell was of any man premeditate or imagined. Therefore, for as much as it is a notable thing to be considered, I will (God willing) declare it as truely as my memory can recorde; the which thing I sawe myselfe being then present.

My lord's enemies being then in the courte about the king in good estimation and honnorable dignity, having now my lord in more feare and doubte, than they had before his fall, considering the perfect zeale and secrett favor that the king bare allwaies towards him, thought at lengthe, the king might call him home againe; and then if he so did, they supposed, that he would rather imagine vengaunce, than to remit and forget their cruelty, which they wrought against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heades, either by some meanes to dispatch him by accusation of sinister treason, or to bringe him in the king's highe indignation by some other meanes. This was dayly their study, and consultation, having for their espialls as many vigilant eyes attendant upon him, as the poet feigned Argus to have; soe that he could neither worke or doe any thing, but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortely after. Nowe at the last, they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to passe, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage; for the matter being once disclosed unto the king, in such vehemency as they purposed, they thought the king would be against him. And that done, and by them executed, the king, upon other complaints moved with great displeasure, thoughte it good that he should come up, and stand to his trial; which they liked nothing at all; notwithstanding, hereupon he was sent for after this sorte. First, they devised that Sir Walter Walche, knighte, one of the king's privy chamber, should be sent downe with a commission into the northe, unto the earle of Northumberland[9] (who was sometime brought up in house with my lord

[9] *The earle of Northumberland.*] In the notes to the Northumberland Household Book, pp. 428—431, Bp. Percy has produced, from the letters of this nobleman, some curious particulars illustrative of the harsh and unworthy

cardinall), and they twaine being jointly in commision, to arrest my lord of high treason. This conclusion fully resolved, they caused Mr. Walche to prepare him to his journey with his commision, and certaine instructions annexed to the same; who made him ready to ride, and toke his horse at the courte gate about noone of All-hallowne day, towards my lord of Northumberland. Nowe I am come to the place where I will declare that which I promised in the latter ende of the last chapiter, of a certaine signe or token of this my lord his trouble; which thing was this.

My lord sitting at dinner upon All-hallowne day, having at his borde end [10] diverse of his worshipful chapleines, sitting at dinner to keep him company, for lacke of strangers, ye shall understande, that accustomably my lord his great crosse stoode in a corner, at the table's ende, leaning against the tappet [11] or hanging. And when the borde's ende was taken up, and a convenient time for the chapleines to arise, they forsed themselves to arise from the table; and even as they rose one doctor Augustine [12], a Venetian and physitian to my lorde, rising from

treatment which he had formerly received from the cardinal, and which, in the bishop's mind, are "a full vindication of the earl from the charge of ingratitude, in being the person employed to arrest the cardinal at his castle of Cawood."

[10] *At his borde end.*] "In the houses of our ancient nobility, they dined at long tables. The lord and his principal guests sate at the upper end of the first-table, in the great chamber, which was therefore called the Lord's Board-end. The officers of his houshold, and inferior guests, at long tables below in the hall. In the middle of each table stood a great salt cellar; and as particular care was taken to place the guests according to their rank, it became a mark of distinction, whether a person sate above or below the salt." Notes on the *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 419.

[11] *Tappet.*] Tapestry; *Lat.* Tapetum.

[12] *Doctor Augustine.*] Agostino degli Agostini, or in *Latin*, Augustinus de

the table with the other, having upon him a greate gowne of boysterous velvet, overthrew my lorde's great crosse, which stode in the way at the borde's ende; and trayling downe along the tappet, it fell upon doctor Bonner's head, who stood by the tappet; and the point brake his head a little, that the blode ran downe. The company there standing according to their duty ready to give thanks to my lord for their dinner, were greatly astonied with the chaunce. My lord sitting in his chaire, and perceiving the same, demaunded of them being next him, what the matter meant of their sodaine amase. I shewed him of the fall of his crosse upon doctor Bonner's head. "Hathe it," quoth he, "drawne any bloud?" "Yea forsothe my lord," quoth I. With that he cast his heade aside, loking soberly upon me a certaine space and sayd unto me (shaking his heade), "*malum omen*[1];" and therewith said grace, and rose up from the table,

Augustinis. It was he who had written to Cromwell from Esher, earnestly pressing for Dr. Butts and others to be sent to Wolsey's assistance. (See p. 191.) His letter is in the Cottonian Collection, Titus B. I. fol. 365. He was accused, as we shall presently see, of high treason, and arrested at the same time with his master the cardinal, whom, it seems, he had betrayed; he did not remain long in custody, nor out of favour, for in 1531 and 1532 he was employed on a mission in Italy, apparently to obtain information. See his letters to Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk, in the Cottonian MSS. Galba, B. x. fol. 8; Nero, B. xi. fol. 308; and Vitellius, B. xiii. ffs. 217. 225. 236.

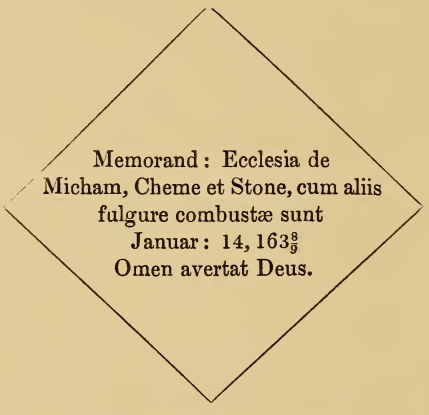
[1] *Malum omen.*] The enemies of archbishop Laud, particularly in the time of his troubles, were fond of comparing him with cardinal Wolsey: and there is reason to think that this life was first printed in the year 1641, for the purpose of prejudicing that great prelate in the minds of the people, by insinuating a parallel between him and the cardinal. However this may have been, the expression in the text recals to memory an affecting anecdote respecting Laud, which the reader will not be displeased to find in this place.

The year 1639, we all know, was big with events calamitous to Laud, and to the church and monarchy. In the Lambeth library is preserved a small

and went into his bed-chamber; but what he did there I knowe not.

Nowe marke the signification, how my lorde expounded this matter unto me at Pomfret, after his fall. Firste ye shall understande, that the crosse, which he bare as archebishope of Yorke, signified himselfe; and Augustine, the physitian, who overthrewe the crosse, was only he that accused my lord[2], whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrowe him. It fell

pane of glass, in which are written with a diamond pencil the following words:



On a piece of paper of the same size with the glass, and kept in the same case with it, is written (and by the hand of abp. Wake, as my friend, Mr. Todd, MS. Librarian to his Grace, the present archbishop, informs me) as follows: "This glasse was taken out of the west-window of the gallery at Croydon before I new built it; and is, as I take it the writing of abp. Laud's own hand." [Written by Dr. Wordsworth, in 1818, when Dr. Charles Manners Sutton was archbishop of Canterbury. The Rev. Henry John Todd was afterwards archdeacon of Cleveland.]

[2] *He that accused my lord.*] This may account for Augustine's speedy release and favor.

upon master doctor Bonner's heade, who was master of my lord's Faculties and Spirituall Jurisdictions, and was then damnified by the overthrowe of the crosse; yea, and moreover, drawing of the bloud of him betokened deathe, which shortly after did ensue; about which time of this mischaunce, the same very day and season, Mr. Walche tooke his horse at the courte gate, as nighe as it could be judged. And so it must needes be taken for a signe or token of that which after followed, if the circumstaunce be equally weighed and considered; wherein, as I suppose, God shewed him some more secrette knowledge of his latter daies and ende of his troubles: wherein it was thought that he had further inspiration, than all men did knowe; which appeared righte well by diverse speciall communications that he had with me at diverse times of his last ende. And nowe that I have made manifest to you the effect of this prodigie and signe, I will retourne againe to my matter.

Nowe the appointed time drewe neare of his stallation; and sitting at dinner, upon the Friday next[3] before the Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at Yorke, the earle of Northumberlande and Mr. Walche, with a great company of gentlemen of the earle's house, and of the country, whom he gathered together in the king's name, to accompany them, not knowing to what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and my lord not fully dined, being then in his fruites, nor knowing of the earle's being in the hall. The first thing that the earle did, after he had set order in the hall, he commaunded the porter of the gates to deliver him the keies thereof; who would in no wise obey his commaundement, althoughe he were roughely

[3] *The Friday next.*] Nov. 4, 1530.

threatened, and streightly commaunded in the king's name to make delivery of them to one of the earle's servants, but perceiving that, saide then unto the earle, "Sir, seeing that you doe but intend to set one of your servants in my place, to kepe the gates for your pleasure; I knowe no servant that ye have, but that I am as able as he to doe it, and keepe the gates to your purpose, whatsoever it be. And also, the keies were delivered to me by my lorde my master, who charged me with them, bothe by othe, and other precept and commaundement. Therefore I pray you, my goode lorde, to pardon me, though I doe not obey your commaundement. For whatsoever ye shall commaunde me to doe in the ministration of mine office, I shall doe it with as good a will and as justly, as any other of your servants, whatsoever he be." With that quoth the gentlemen, being there with the earle, who hearde him speake so stoutely, "Sir, he is a goode fellowe, and a faithfull servaunte to his master; and speaketh like an honest man; therefore give him your charge, and let him keepe still the gates; whome we doubte not but he will be obedient to your commaundement." "Well then," quoth the earle, "holde him a boke[4], and commaund him to lay his hand thereon." "Thou shalt sweare," quoth the earle, "that thou shalt well and truly keepe the gates, by our commaundement, to the king our soveraigne lorde's use, being his graces commisioners; and to doe all suche things as we shall commaunde, and as to us shall seeme good, for the time of our abode here; and that ye shall let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as you shall be commaunded by us, from time to time," and with this othe he received the keies at the earle's and Mr. Walche's hands.

[4] *A boke.*] Of the Gospels.

Of all these doings knewe my lord nothing; for they stopped the staire, so that none went up to my lorde his chamber, and they that came downe could no more goe up againe. At the last one escaped, who came up, and shewed my lorde that the earle of Northumberland was in the hall; whereat my lord marvailed, and would not beleve him at the first; but commaunded a gentleman, being his gentleman usher [5], to loke and bringe him the truthe, whether it were he or no. Who going downe the staires, where was a loop with a lattise, where through he looked into the hall, he sawe my lord of Northumberlande; and went no further, but returned, and shewed my lorde it was very he. "Then," quoth my lorde, "I am sorry that we have dined; for I feare that our officers be not provided of any store of good fishe, to make him some honnorable cheere, according to his estate; notwithstanding he shall have suche as we have, with a righte good will. Let the table stande," quoth he, "and we will goe downe, and mete him, and bring him up; and then shall he see how farre forthe we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him, and rose up; and going downe the staires he encountered the earle, whome he met upon the middest of the staires, comming up, with all his men at his taile. And assone as my lorde espied the earle, he put off his cappe, and saide, "My lord, ye are most heartely welcome;" (and so embraced eche other.) My lord cardinall saide, "Although that I have often desired, and wished in my harte to see you in my house [6], yet if ye had loved me well, ye

[5] *A gentleman, being his gentleman usher.*] Being Cavendish himself.

[6] *To see you in my house.*] This was a very natural expression for Wolsey to use, although it conveys somewhat of a reproof. Wressil Castle, where the Earl of Northumberland lived, was not more than 10 miles, in a direct line, from Cawood, and Wolsey might well have expected some mark of outward

would have sent me word before of your comming, to the intente I might have received you according to your honnor. Notwithstanding ye shall have suche cheere as I can make you, with a righte good will; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertaine you with better fare." And this saide, my lorde toke the earle by the hande, and had him up into the chamber; whome followed all the number of the earle's servants. And when my lorde came into the chamber, he led the earle to the fire, and sayd, "Sir, my lord, ye shall goe into my bed chamber, where ye shall have a good fire, untill your chamber be made ready for you; and let my lorde's male be brought up: and or ever I goe, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the earle, saying, "I perceive well, my lorde, that ye have not altogether forgot my olde precepts, and counsell, which I gave you, when you were with me in your youthe, to cherishe my lorde your father's olde servants, which I see here present with you. Surely, my lorde, ye doe therein very well and nobly, like a wise gentleman. For these be they who will not only love you, but also live and die with you, and be true to you, and glad to see you prosper in honnor; the whiche I beseeche God to send you, with long life."

respect to have been paid to him after his arrival. The proximity of Wressil to Cawood may have been, and in all probability it was one of the main reasons why the Earl of Northumberland was selected to arrest his former master: Sir Walter Walche having called on the Earl in his way from London. Of the princely castle of Wressil an account has been left by Leland in his *Itinerary* i. 59, which has been reprinted by Bishop Percy in his notes to the *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 451.

This saide, he toke the earle by the hand, and led him into his bed chamber.

And they beinge there all alone, save only I, who kept the dore, according to my duty, being gentleman usher; these two lordes standing at a windowe by the chimney, the earle trembling saide unto my lorde, with a soft voice (laying his hand upon his arme), "My lorde, I arrest you of highe treason." With which wordes my lorde was marvailously astonied, standing bothe still without any more wordes a good space. But at the last, quoth my lorde, "What authority have you to arrest me?" "Forsothe, my lorde," quoth the earle, "I have a commision so to doe." "Where is your commision," quoth my lord, "that I may see it?" "Nay, sir, that you may not," saide the earle. "Well then," quoth my lord, "hold you contented; then I will not obey your arrest: for there hath bine between your auncestors and my predicessors great contentions and debate of an auncient grudge, which may succede in you, and growe unto the like inconvenience, as it hath done betwene your auncestors and my predicessors. Therefore, without I see your authority from above, I will not obey you." Even as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, so busy was Mr. Walche in arresting of doctor Augustine, at the dore in the pallace, saying unto him, "Go in traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portall dore, perceiving them both there. Mr. Walche thrust doctor Augustine in before him with violence. These matters on bothe sides astonied me very much, musing what all this should meane; untill at the last, Mr. Walche, being entered my lorde his chamber, began to plucke off his hoode, which he had made him of the same clothe, whereof his coate was, which was of Shrewesbury cotton, to the intent he would not be knowne. And

after he had plucked off his hoode, he kneled downe to my lorde, to whome my lord sayd, "Come hether, gentleman, and let me speake with you," commanding him to stand up, saying thus, "Sir, here my lorde of Northumberland hathe arrested me, but by whose authority or commision he sheweth me not; but saith, he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you shewe me." "Indeede my lorde, if it please your Grace," quoth Mr. Walche, "he sheweth you the truthe." "Well then," quoth my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseeche you," quoth Mr. Walche, "hold us excused. There is annexed to our commision certaine instructions which ye may not see, ne yet be privy to the same." "Why," quoth my lorde, "be your instructions suche that I may not see them? peradventure, if I mighte be privy to them, I could helpe you the better to perform them. It is not unknowne, but I have been privy and of counsell in as weighty matters as these be: and I doubte not for my parte, but I shall prove myselfe a true man, against the expectation of all my cruell enemies. I see the matter whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to doe. I trowe ye are one of the king's privy chamber; your name is Walche. I am content to yelde to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland, without I see his commision. And also you are a sufficient commisioner in that behalfe, in as much as ye be one of the king's privy chamber; for the worst there is a sufficient warrant[7] to

[7] *A sufficient warrant.*] "Strict personal attendance was required in the Privy Chamber to execute the commands of their sovereigns, to convey their directions to their ministers and state officers and others, whether at home or abroad, by word of mouth, where written orders might have been exposed to the hazard of being discovered, as well as performing the accredited functions of ambassadors themselves, and in accompanying their princes, either in their private interviews, or public progresses through their dominions.

arrest the greatest pere in this realme, by the king's only commaundement, without any commision. Therefore I am at your will to order and to dispose: put therefore your commision and authority in execution: spare not, and I will obey the king's will. I feare more the malice and cruelty of my mortall enemies, than I doe the untruthe of my allegiance; wherein, I take God to my judge, I never offended the king in worde ne dede; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive, having indifferency, without partiality."

Then came my lord of Northumberland unto me, standinge at the portall dore, and commaunded me to avoide the chamber; and being lothe to departe from my master, I stode still, and would not remove; to whome he spake againe, and said unto mee, "There is no remedy, ye must departe." With that I loked upon my lord (as whoe would say, shall I goe?), upon whome my lorde loked very heavily, and shoke at mee his heade. And perceiving by his countenaunce it boted me not to abide, I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellowes, and other, to learne of me some newes; to whome I made reporte what I sawe and hearde; which was great heaviness unto them all.

Then the earle called into the chamber diverse gentlemen of his owne servants; and after that he and Mr. Walche had taken my lorde's keies from him, they gave the charge and custody of my lorde unto five gentlemen. And then they went aboute the

But more especially were they regarded for that high distinction of bearing the king's commands, on the faith and credentials of their appointment, without a written or sealed commission." The office now exists only in name. See Nicholas Carlile's *Inquiry into the place and quality of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber*. Lond. 1829. 8vo. p. 288.

house to set all things in order, intending to departe from thence the next day (being Saturday) with my lord; howbeyt it was Sonday towards nighte or ever they coulde bringe all things to passe to departe. Then went they busily about to convey doctor Augustine away to London, with as much speede as they could, sending with him diverse persones to conducte him, which was bounde unto his horse like a traitor. And this done, when it came to nighte, the commisioners assigned two gromes of my lordes to attend upon him in the chamber where he lay that nighte; and all the rest of my lord of Northumberland's gentlemen watched in the next chamber; and so was all the house watched, and the gates verie surely kepte, that no man could either passe or repasse, in or out, untill the next morning. At which time my lorde rose up about eighte of the clocke, and made him ready to ride; where he was kept still close in his chamber, expecting his departing from thence.

Then the earle sent for me into his chamber, and being there he commaunded me to goe to my lord, and give attendaunce upon him, and charged me with an oathe upon certaine articles to observe aboute him. And going my way toward my lorde, I met with Mr. Walche in the courte, who called me unto him, and led me into his chamber, and there shewed me how the king's majestie bare towards me his princely favor, for my dilligent and true service that I ministered daily to my lorde and master. "Wherefore," quoth he, "the king's pleasure is, that ye shall be aboute him, as most chiefe in whome his highness putteth great confidence and trust; and whose pleasure is therefore, that ye shall be sworne unto him to observe certaine articles, which you shall have delivered you in writinge." "Sir," quoth I, "my lorde of Northumberlande hath already sworne me to

diverse articles." "Yea," quoth he, "but he could not deliver you the articles in writinge, as I am commaunded specially to doe. Therefore, I deliver here unto you this bill with articles in writinge; loke upon them, whether ye can observe them or no; for ye shall not receive them of me without an oathe, for the fulfilling of them." And when I had perused them, and sawe them but reasonable and tollerable, I aunswered, that I was contented to obey the king's pleasure, and to be sworne to the performaunce of them. And so he gave me a new othe: and then I resorted unto my lorde, where he was sitting in a chaire, the tables being spred for him to goe to dinner. But as soone as he perceived me to come in, he fell out into suche a wofull lamentation with such ruthefull teares and watery eies, that it would have caused a flinty harte to mourne with him. And as I could, I with others comforted him; but it would not be. "For," quoth he, "Nowe I lament, that I see this gentleman" (meaning me) "how faithefull, how dilligent, and how painefull he hath served me, abandonning his owne country, wife, and children; his house and family, his rest and quietnesse, only to serve me, and I have nothinge to rewarde him for his highe merittes. And also the sighte of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the nomber of faithfull servauntes, that I have here with me; whome I did intend to preferre and advaunce, to the best of my powre, from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to rewarde them; all is deprived me, and I am left here their miserable and wretched master. Howbeyt," quoth he to me (calling me by my name), "I am a true man, and ye shall never have shame of me for your servise." "Sir," quoth I unto him (perceiving his heaviness), "I doe nothinge mistruste your truthe: and for the same will I

depose bothe before the king, and his honnorable counsell. Wherefore, sir," (kneeling upon my knee) "comforte yourselfe, and be of good cheere. The malice of your ungodly enemies can, ne shall not prevaile. I doubt not but comming to your aunswer, my hearte is suche, that ye shall clearly acquit yourselfe, so to your commendation and truthe, as that, I trust, it shall be much to your great honnour, and restitution unto your former estate." "Yea," quoth he, "if I may come to my aunswer, I feare no man alive; for he liveth not that shall look upon this face" (pointing to his owne face), "that shall be able to accuse me of any untruthe; and that knowe well mine enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seeke some sinister meanes to dispatch me." "Sir," quoth I, "ye neede not therein to doubte, the king being so muche your good lorde, as he hath alwaies shewed himselfe to be, in all your troubles." With that came up my lorde his meate; and so we lefte our former communication, and I gave my lorde water, and set him downe to dinner; who did eate very little meate, but very many times sodainely he would burste out in teares, with the most sorrowfull words that have bine hearde of any woefull creature. And at the laste he fetched a great sighe, and saide this texte of scripture[8] in this wise, "*O constantia Martirum laudabilis! O charitas inextinguibilis! O pacientia*

[8] *Texte of scripture.*] The words which follow, I apprehend, are part of some ecclesiastical hymn. It was not unusual to attribute the name of *Scripture* to all such compositions; and to whatever was read in churches. "Also I said and affirmed" (the words are part of the recantation of a Wickliffite) "that I held *no Scripture* catholike nor holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints I held hem nought; and the miracles written of hem, I held untrue."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 591.

invincibilis, quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicabilis, invenietur in laudem et gloriam ac honorem in tempore tribulationis!" And thus passed he forthe his dinner in great lamentation and heaviness, who was fed more with weping teares, than with any delicate meates that were set before him. I suppose that there was not a drie eie among all the gentlemen, that were there attending upon him. And when the table was taken up we expected continually our removing, untill it drewe to nighte; and then it was shewed my lorde, that he could not goe away that nighte; but on the morrow, by God's grace, he should departe. "Even then," quoth he, "when my lord of Northumberland shall be pleased." Wherefore it was concluded that he should tarry untill the next day, being Sonday.

On which day my lord rose in the morning, and prepared him ready to ride, after he had hearde masse; and by that time he had saide all his divine service, it was dinner time; and after dinner the earle appointed all things, how it should be ordered; and by that time it was nere nighte. There were appointed to waite upon him diverse persons, among whom I myselfe, and foure more of his owne servaunts were assigned unto him. First his chaplen, two groomes and his barber: and as we were going downe out of the great chamber, my lorde demaunded where his servaunts were become; the which the earle and Mr. Walche had inclosed within the chappel there, because they should not trouble his passage. Notwithstanding my lord would not goe downe untill he had a sighte of his servauntes; to whom it was aunswered that he might not see them. "Why so?" then quoth my lord. "I will not out of this house, but I will see my servaunts, and take my leave of them before I will goe any further." And his servauntes, being in the chappell, having

understanding that my lord was going away, and that they should not see him before his departure, they began to grudge, and to make suche a rutheful noise, that the commisioners were in doubte of a tumulte, to tarry among them; wherefore they were let out, and suffered to repaire to my lord, in the great chamber; where they kneled downe before him; among whome was no one drie eie, but earnestly lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whome my lord gave comfortable wordes, and worthy praises for their diligence, honesty, and truthe done to him heretofore, assuring them, that what chaunce soever shall happen him, he was a very true and a just man to his sovereigne lord. And thus with a lamentable manner, shaked every of them by the hand.

Then was he constrained to departe, the nighte drewe so faste on. And so my lord his horse, and ours were ready brought into the inner courte; where we mounted, and comming to the gate to ride out, which was shut, the porter opening the same to let us passe, there was ready attending a great nomber of gentlemen with their servauntes, such as the earle had appointed for that purpose, to attend and conducte my lord to Pomfret that nighte, and so forthe, as ye shall hereafter heare. But to tell you of the nomber of the people of the country that were assembled at the gate to lament his departing, I suppose they were in nomber above three thousand people; which at the opening of the gates, after they had a sighte of him, cried with a loud voice, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace! The foul evill take them that have thus taken you from us! We pray God that a very vengeaunce may light upon them!" Thus they ran after him, crying through the towne of Cawood, they loved him so well.—Surely they had a great losse of him, bothe riche and poore:

for the poore had by him great reliefe; and the riche lacked not his counsell and helpe in all their troubles; which caused him to have such love among the people of the country.

Then rode he with his conductors towards Pomfret; and by the way as he rode, called me unto him, asking me if I had any gentleman of mine acquaintance among the nomber that rode with him. "Yea, sir," sayd I, "what is your pleasure?" "Mary," quoth he, "I have left a thinge behinde that I would faine have; the whiche I would most gladly send for." "If I knewe," quoth I, "what it were I should send one incontinent backe againe for it." "Then," saide he, "let the messenger goe to my lorde of Northumberlande, and desire him to send me the red buckram bagge, lying in my almery in my chamber, sealed with my seale." With that I departed from him, and went streight unto one sir Roger Lassels [9], knighte, and stewarde with the earle (being one among the route), and desired him to cause some of his servaunts to return to my lord of Northumberland for that purpose; who graunted my requeste most gently, and thereupon sent incontinent one of his trusty servaunts with all spede back againe to Cawood for the said bagge; who did so honestly his message, that he brought the same unto my lord shortly after he was in his chamber at the abbey of Pomfret; where he laye all nighte. In which bagge was no other thing inclosed but three sheartes of heare, the which he delivered unto his chaplen and ghostly father secretly.

Furthermore, as he rode towarde Pomfret, he demaunded of me, whither they would leade him that nighte. "Mary, sir," quoth I, "to Pomfret." "Alas!" quoth he, "shall I goe to the

[9] *Lassels.*] Sir Roger Lascelles, of Sowerby and Brackenbury.

castle[1], and lie there, and dye like a beaste?" "Sir, I can tell you no more," quoth I, "what they intend to doe; but sir, I will enquire of a secret friend of mine in this company, who is chiefe of all their counsells."

With that I repaired unto the saide Roger Lassels, and desired him as earnestly as I could, that he would vouchsafe to shewe me, whither my lord should go to be lodged that nighte; who aunswered me againe that my lord should be lodged in the abbey of Pomfret, and in none other place; the which I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within nighte we came to Pomfret, and there lodged within the abbey as is aforesaide.

And my lord of Northumberland continued all that nighte at Cawood, to see the dispatche of the household, and to establishe all the stuffe within the same in security.

The next day my lord removed towards Doncaster, and came into the towne by torche lighte, the which was his desire, because of the people. Yet notwithstanding, the people were assembled, and cried out upon him, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace, my good lord cardinall;" running before him with candles in their hands; who caused me to ride by his side to shadowe him from the people; and yet they perceived him, and lamented his misfortune, cursing his accusers. And thus

[1] *To the castle.*] Where so many executions for treason had taken place, that Wolsey might well hold it in dread. So Lord Rivers exclaims:—

— "O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls,
Richard the Second here was hack'd to death:
And for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink."

Rich. III. Act iii. sc. 3.

they brought him to the Black-friars, within the which he was lodged.

And the next day we removed and rode to Sheffilde parke[2], where my lord of Shrewsbury lay within the lodge, the people all the way thitherwarde still lamenting him, crying as they did before. And when we came into the parke of Sheffild nighe to the lodge, my lord of Shrewesbury, with my lady and a traine of gentlewomen, and all other his gentlemen and servaunts, stode without the gates, to attend my lordes comming, to receive him; at whose alighting the earle received him with much honnour, and embraced my lord saying these wordes, "My lord," quoth he, "your Grace is most hartely welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you here in my pore lodge, where I have long desired to see you, and should have been much more gladder, if you had come after an other sorte." "Ay, my gentle lord of Shrewesbury," quoth my lord, "I hartely thank you: and although I have cause to lament, yet, as a faithfull harte may, I doe rejoice, that my chaunce is to come unto the custody of so noble a person, whose approved honnour and wisedome hath allwaies bin right well knowne to all noble estates. And, sir, howsoever my accusers have used their accusations against me, this I knowe and soe before your lordship, and all the world, I doe protest, that my demeanour and procedinges have allwaies bin both just and loyall towardes my sovereigne and leige lord; of whose usage in his grace's affaires your lordship hath had right good experience; and even accordinge to my truthe, so I beseeche God to helpe me!" "I doubt not," quoth my lord of Shrewesbury, "of

[2] *To Sheffilde parke.*] On Sunday the 6th November, where, as Cavendish correctly says, he remained for eighteen days, till Thursday the 24th, when he departed to Hardwicke.

your truthe. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheere, and feare not; for I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith to entertaine you, according to my good will and your honnour; but such as I have, ye shall be wellcome to it; for I will not receive you as a prisonner, but as my good lord, and the king's true and loving subject; and sir, here is my wife[3] come to salute you." Whome my lord kissed, with his cappe in his hand bareheaded, and all the other gentlemen; and tooke all the earle's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen as yeomen. This done, these two lordes went into the lodge arme in arme, and so conducted my lord into a faire gallery, where was in the further end thereof a goodly towre with lodgings, where my lord was lodged. There was also in the middest of the same gallery a traverse of sarsenet drawne; so that the one end thereof was preserved for my lord, and the other for the earle.

Then departed from my lord all the great nomber of gentlemen and other that conducted him thither. And my lord, being thus with my lord of Shrewsbury, continued there eighteen daies after; upon whome my lord of Shrewsbury appointed diverse worthy gentlemen to attend continually, to foresee that he should lacke nothing that he would desire, being served in his owne chamber at dinner, and supper, as honnorably, and with as many dainty dishes, as he had in his owne house commonly being at liberty. And once every day my lord of Shrewsbury would repaire unto him, and common with him, sitting upon a bench in a great windowe in the gallery. And allthoughe that my said lord of Shrewsbury would right hartely comforte him, yet would

[3] *My wife*] His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Walden. The earl of Northumberland had married Mary, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury by his first wife. See pp. 51—58.

he lament so piteously, that it would make my lord of Shrewsbury to be very heavy, for his griefe. "Sir," said he, "I have and doe daily receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertaine you, as one that he highly favoureth and loveth; whereby I doe perceive ye doe lament more than ye have cause to doe. And although ye be accused[4] (as I trust wrongfully), yet the king can do no lesse but to put you to your trial, the which is more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath of your traiterous doings." "Alas! my lord," quoth my lord cardinall, "is it not a pitteous case, that any man should so wrongfully accuse me unto the king, and not to come to the king to my aunswer before his grace? For I am well assured my lord, that there is no man alive that loketh in this face of mine, who is able to accuse me. It grieveth me very much that the king should have any such opinion in me, to thinke that I would be false or conspire any evill to his person; who may well consi-

[4] *Ye be accused.*] The following, written whilst Wolsey was at Sheffield, shows that he was betrayed by some of his own dependents: "La presente despachia s'è tenuta fin a mo, per intender' in questo mezo più oltra sul fatto del povero cardinale, sul quale questo ser. Re et li sig. del suo consiglio m'han assicurato et con juramento, *che di me non solo non han alcuna umbra di suspition, ma hanno ogni buona opinion,* et che mi tengano per caro servitor': et li sig. di Norfolch et Suffolch, con ogni instantia, m'han pregato, cossi volermi persuader' et fermamente creder', ma quanto al card. mi par' comprender' chel povero sig. non la debbi far bene, et dicono che contra di lui haveano et hanno molte importante cause, et molti gravi juditii, et fra quelli, *cossi mi disse el re, che contra de S. M. el machinava nel regno et fuori, et m'a detto dove et come, et che un' et forsi più dun' de' suoi servitori l' hanno et scoperto et accusato.* Basta ch'in questo non c'è mescolanza, ne pur umbra ne sentor' d'alcun manegio de m'un servitor' ò ministro del Chr. Re, et le cose vechie, nel detto Car. molto graveran le nuove; à me sommamente duole el caso suo, ma in mio poter' non essendo el remediarlo, ricorerò alla pacientia." Gio. Gioac. di Passano, to the grand master Montmorency, Dat. London, 10 Nov. 1530. Le Grand, iii. 529.

der, that I have no assured friends in all the world, but only his grace; soe that if I should go about to betray my sovereign lord and prince, in whom is all my trust and confidence before all other, all men mighte justly thinke and say, that I lacked bothe grace, wit, and discretion. Nay, nay my lord, I would rather adventure to sheade my harte bloud in his defence, as I am bound, bothe for my allegiance and for my safeguard; for he is my staffe that supporteth me, and the wall that defendeth me against all these my corrupt enemies, and all other; who knoweth me, and my true dilligent proceedings in all his affaires and doings, much better than any of them. Therefore to conclude, it is not to be thought that ever I would maliciously or traiterously travaill or wishe any hurte or damage to his royall person or imperiall dignity, but, as I saide before, defend it with the very sheading of my harte bloud, and if it were but only for mine owne defense, to preserve mine estate and simple life, that which mine enemies thinke I doe so much esteeme; having no other refuge to fly unto for protection and defense, but only under the shadowe of his wings. Alas! my lord, I was in a good estate now, and lived quietly, being right well contented with the same. But mine enemies who never slepe, but continually study both sleping and waking to rid me out of the way, perceiving the contentation of my mind, douted that if I lived, their mallicious and cruell dealings would growe at lengthe to their shame, rebuke and open slaunder; and therefore would prevent the same with the shedding of my bloud. But from God, that knoweth the secret of their hartes, and of all others, it cannot be hid, ne yet unrewarded, when he shall see opportunity. And, my good lord, if you would shewe yourself so much my good friend, as to require the king's majestie that mine accusers may come before my face

in his presence, and there that I may make aunswer, I doubte not but ye shall see me acquite myselfe of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them; for they shall never be able to prove by any due probation, that ever I offended the king either in thought, worde, or dede. Therefore I desire you, and most hartely require your good lordship, to be a meane for me, that I may aunswer unto my accusations before the king's majestie. The case is his, and if their accusations were true, then should it touche him more earnestly; wherefore it were convenient that he should heare it himselfe. But I feare me, that they intend to dispatche me rather then I should come before his presence; for they be well assured, and very certaine, that my truthe should vanquishe all their accusations and untrue surmises; which is the especiall cause that maketh me so earnestly desire to make mine aunswer before the king's majestie. The losse of goods, the slaunder of my name, ne yet all my trouble grieveth me any thing so much, as the losse of the king's favor, and that he should have in me such an opinion, without deserte, of untruthe, that have with such travaill and paines served the king so justly, so paynfully, and with so good an harte, to his profit and honnor at all times. And against the truthe of my doings, their accusations proved by me to be unjust, should doe me more pleasure and good, than the obteining much treasure; as I doubt not to doe, if the case might be indifferently heard. Nowe my good lord, weighe my reasonable request, and let charity and truthe move your harte with pitty, to helpe me in all this my truthe, wherein you shall take no manner of rebuke or slaunder, by the grace of God." "Well then," saide my lord of Shrewsbury, "I will write to the king in your behalfe, declaring to him by my letters howe ye lament his indignation and displea-

sure; and also what request ye make for the triall of your truthe towardes his highness." And after diverse other communications as they were accustomed daily to have, they departed asunder.

Remayning there thus with my lord the space of a fortnight, having goodly enterteinement, and often desired by the earle to kill a doe or harte in his parke there, who allwaies refused to take any pleasure either in hunting or otherwise, but applied his praiers continually with great devotion; so that it came to passe at a certaine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, having at his bordes ende the same day, as he accustomably had every day, a messe of gentlemen and chaplens to kepe his company, towardes the ende of his dinner, when he came to the eating of his fruites, I perceived his colour often to change, whereby I judged him not to be in good health. With that I leaned over the table, and speaking softly unto him, saide, "Sir, me seemeth your Grace is not well at ease." To whom he aunswered and saide, with a loude voice, "Forsothe, no more I am; for I am, quoth he, taken sodenly with a thing about my stomake, that lieth there along, as could as a whetstone; whiche is no more but winde; therefore I pray you take up the table, and make a short dinner, and that done, resorte shortly againe." And after the meate was carried out of the chamber, into the gallery, where all the waiters dined, and every man set, I rose up and forsoke my dinner, and came into the chamber unto my lord, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease; nothwithstanding he was commoning with them at the borde's end, whome he had commaunded to sit still. And as soone as I was entered the chamber, he desired me to go to the poticary, and enquire of him if he had any thinge that would make him breake winde upwarde. Then went I to the

earle, and shewed him what estate my lord was in, and what he desired. With that my lord of Shrewsbury caused incontinent the poticary to be called before him; and at his comming he demaunded of him, if he had any thinge that would break winde upwarde in a man's body; and he aunswered that he had such geare. "Then," quoth the earle, "fetche me some." Then departed the poticary, and brought with him a white confection in a faire paper, and shewed it unto my lord, who commaunded me to give the saye [5] thereof before him, and so I did. And I toke the same and brought it to my lord, whereof also I tooke the saye myself, and then delivered it to my lord, who received it up all at once into his mouthe. But immediately after he had received the same, surely he avoided much winde exceedingely, upwarde. "Lo," quoth he, "you may see it was but winde; and nowe am I well eased, I thanke God:" and so rose from the table, and went to his praiers, as he used every day after dinner. And that done, there came upon him such a laske [6], that it caused him to go to the stole; and being there, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me, and at my repaire to him he saide: "For as much as I have alwaies perceived you to be a man, in whome my lord your master hath great affiaunce; and also knowing you to be an honest man" (with many more wordes of commendation and praise, than becometh me here to recite), "it is so, that my lord your master hath often desired me to write to the king, that he mighte come before his presence, to aunswer to his accusations; and even so have I done; and this day have I received letters from the king's grace, by Sir William

[5] *Saye.*] Assay, trial by sample or tasting.
[6] *Laske.*] Laxe, looseness.

Kingstone[7], whereby I perceive that the king hath in him a good opinion: and by my request, he hath sent for him, by the same Sir William, to come unto him; who is in his chamber. Wherefore nowe is the time come that my lord hath often desired to try himselfe, I truste, muche to his honnor; and it shall be the best journey that ever he made in his life. Therefore nowe would I have you to play the parte of a wise man, to break this matter wittily unto him, in suche sorte, that he may take it quietly, and in good parte: for he is ever so full of sorrowe and heaviness, at my being with him, that I feare me he will take it in evill parte, and then doeth he not well: for I assure you, and so shewe him, that the king is his good lord, and hath given me most worthy thanks for his enterteinement, desiring and commanding me so to continue, not doubting but that he will right nobly acquite himself towards his highness. Therefore, go your waies to him, and perswade with him that I may finde him in good quiet at my comming, for I will not tarry long after you." "Sir," quoth I, "if it please your lordship, I shall endevour me to the best of my powre, to accomplishe your lordship's commaundement. But sir, I doubte, that when I shall name Sir William Kingstone to him, he will mistrust that all is not well; because Mr. Kingstone is constable of the towre, and capitaine of the guarde, having with him, as I understande, twenty foure of the guarde to attend upon him." "Mary it is truthe;" quoth the earle, "what thereof, although he be constable of the towre? he is the most meetest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about any such message. And for the guarde, it is

[7] *Sir William Kingstone.*] He was appointed constable of the Tower for life, by letters patent, dated 28 May 1524, soon after the death of Sir Thomas Lovell. He was afterwards made a knight of the garter.

for none other purpose but only to defend him against them that would intend him any evill, either in worde or deede; and they be all, or for the most parte, such of his olde servants as the king toke of late into his service, to the intent that they should attend upon him most justly, knowing beste how to serve him." "Well Sir," saide I, "I shall doe what I can," and so departed from him towards my lord.

And as I repaired unto him, I found him sitting at the upper ende of the gallery, upon a cheste, with his staffe and his beades in his hands. And espying me comming from the earle, demaunded of me what newes. "Forsoothe Sir," quoth I, "the best newes that ever came to you; if your Grace can take it well." "I pray God it be," quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsoothe Sir," saide I, "my lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving by your often communication with him, that ye were allwaies desirous to come before the king's majestie, he as your most assured friend hath travailed so with his letters unto the king, that he hath sent for you, by Mr. Kingstone and twenty four of the guarde, to conduct you to his highness." "Mr. Kingstone," quoth he, rehersing his name[8] once or twise; and with that clapped his hand on his thighe, and gave a great sighe. "Sir," quoth I, "if it please

[8] *Rehersing his name.*] "I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here (however we will put it on the adventure), but cardinal Wolsey, in his lifetime, was informed by some fortune-tellers, *that he should have his end at Kingston.* This, his credulity interpreted of Kingston-on-Thames; which made him alwayes to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards, understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of Sir Anthony Kingston (see Lord Henry Howard [Earl of Northampton], in his Book against Prophecies, chap. xxviii. fol. 130), it struck to his heart; too late perceiving himself deceived by that father of lies in his homonymous prediction."—Fuller's *Church History*, book v. p. 178.

your Grace if you would or could take all things in good parte, it should be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and thinke that God and your friends have wrought for you, according to your owne desire. Did ye not allwaies wishe, that ye might cleare yourselfe before the king; and now that God and your friends have brought your desire to passe, ye will not take it thankfully? If ye consider your truthe and loyalty to our sovereign lorde, against the which your enemies cannot prevaile, the king being your good lord as he is, ye know well, the king can doe no lesse than he doeth to you, being to his highness accused of some heinous crime, but cause you to be brought to your tryall, and there to receave according to your meritts; the which his highness trusteth, and saithe no lesse, but that you shall prove yourselfe a just man to his majestie, wherein ye have more cause to rejoice, than thus to lament, or to mistrust the favourable ministration of due justice. For I assure you, your enemies be more afraide of you, than you of them; and doubting you so much, they wishe the thinge, that they shall never I truste bring to passe with all their wittes, the king (as I sayd before) being your indifferent judge, and your earnest friend. And to prove that he so is, see you not how he hathe sent gentle Mr. Kingstone, to honnour you with as much honnour, as was due to you in your high estate; and to convey you by such easy journies, as you will commaund him to doe; and that ye shall have all your desires and requests by the way in every place, to your Grace's contentation and honnour. Wherefore Sir, I humbly beseeche your Grace, to imprinte all these persuasions and many other like, in your highe discretion, and be of good cheere; wherewith ye shall comforte yourselfe, and give all your friends and servants good hope of your good spede." "Well, well, then," quoth he,

"I perceive more than ye can imagine, or doe knowe. Experience of olde hath taught me." And therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber, and went to the stoole, the laske troubled him so sore; and when he had done, he came out againe; and immediately after my lord of Shrewsbury came into the gallery unto him, with whome my lord met, and then sitting downe there upon a benche in a great bay windowe, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentably, as he was accustomed to do, aunswered him, and thanked him for his gentle entertainment. "Sir," quoth the earle, "if ye remember ye have often wished to come before the king, to make your aunswer: and I perceiving your often desire and earnest request, as one that beareth you good will, have written especially unto the king in that behalfe; making him privy also of your lamentable sorrowe, that ye inwardly have received of his displeasure; who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases. Wherefore I would advise you to pluck up your harte, and be not agast of your enemies, who I assure you be more in doubt of you, than you would thinke, perceiving that the king is minded to have the hearing of your case before his own person. Nowe, Sir, if you can be of good cheere, I doubt not but this journey which you shall take up unto his highness, shall be much to your advauncement, and an overthrowe to your enemies. The king hath sent for you by the worshipfull knight Mr. Kingstone, and with him twenty four of your old servantes, nowe of the guarde, to defend you against your enemies to the intent that ye may safely come unto his majestie." "Sir," quoth my lord, "I trowe that Mr. Kingstone is constable of the tower." "Yea, what of that?" quoth the earle, "I assure you he is elected of the king for one of your friends, and for a discreete gentleman, most worthy to

take upon him the safeguarde and conduct of your person; which without faile the king much esteemeth, and secretly beareth you speciall favor, far otherwise than ye doe take it." "Well Sir," quoth my lord, "as God will, so be it. I am subjecte to fortune, and to fortune I submit myselfe, being a true man ready to accept such chaunces as shall followe, and there an ende; Sir I pray you, where is Mr. Kingstone?" "Mary," quoth the earle, "if you will, I will send for him, who would most gladly see you." "I pray you then," quoth my lord, "send for him." At whose message he came; and as soon as my lord espied him comming at the gallery ende, he made haste to encounter him. Mr. Kingstone came towards him with much reverence; and at his coming he kneeled downe unto him, and saluted him in the king's behalfe; whome my lorde bare-headed offered to take up, but he still refused. Then quoth my lord, "Mr. Kingstone, I pray you to stand up, and leave your kneeling unto me; for I am but a wretch replete with misery not esteeming myselfe, but as a vile abject utterly cast away, without deserte, as God knoweth. And therefore, good Mr. Kingstone, stand up, or I will kneele downe by you;" whom he would not leave untill he stode up. Then spake Mr. Kingstone and saide, with humble reverence, "Sir, the king's majestie hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," quoth my lord, "I trust he is in health, and merry." "Yea, without doubt," quoth Mr. Kingstone: "and he commaunded me to say unto you, that you should assure yourselfe, that he beareth unto you as much good will and favour as ever he did; and willeth you to be of good cheere. And where reporte hath bin made unto him, that you should commit against his royal majestie certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh perfectly to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, in such

cases requisite, he can doe no lesse than send for you to your triall, mistrusting nothing your truthe nor wisdome, but that ye shall be hable to requite yourselfe of all complaints and accusations exhibited against you; and to take your journey to him at your owne pleasure, commaunding me to attend upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved against all inconveniences that may ensue; and to elect all such your olde servauntes, nowe his, to serve you by the way, who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, Sir, I beseeche you be of good cheere; and when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your journey, I shall be ready to give attendaunce upon you." "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I thanke you for your good newes: and Sir, hereof assure yourselfe, that if I were as able and lusty as I have bin but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post: but Sir, I am diseased with a fluxe[9] that maketh me

[9] *Diseased with a fluxe.*] In the printed editions the passage stands thus: "But, alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux: (at which time it was apparent that *he had poysoned himself*) it hath made me very weak." p. 190, edit. 1706. "It is highly probable (says Dr. Fiddes, in his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 499), this expression ought to be taken in a softer sense than the words strictly import, and that Cavendish only intended by it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him, by other hands." Dr. F. then proceeds to invalidate, by reasoning, the story of the cardinal having hastened his own death. But, I apprehend, it cannot be thought that there is much force in the doctor's arguments. It is more important to observe, that it admits of great question, whether the words in the parenthesis are not altogether an interpolation. They do not occur in any MS. which I have seen. Still it is certain that the charge of his having poisoned himself was repeated by contemporary writers, without scruple.—See Tindall's *Works*, p. 404; *Supplication to the Queen's Majesty*, fol. 7. A.D. 1555: Fox's *Acts*, p. 959.

"When good men die suddenly" (says David Lloyd, *State Worthies*, p. 23), "it is said they are poisoned; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as Wolsey did, it is said they poison themselves. He died unpitied, because he had lived feared; being the great bias of the Christian world!"

very weake. But Mr. Kingstone, all the comfortable wordes which ye have spoken unto me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fooles paradise: I knowe what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will, and paines taken about me; and I shall with all spede make me ready to ride with you to morrowe." And thus they fell into other communication, bothe the earle and Mr. Kingstone with my lorde; who commaunded me to foresee and provide that all things mighte be made ready to departe the morrowe after. Then caused I all things to be trussed up, and made in readiness as fast as they could conveniently.

When night came that we should goe to bed, my lorde waxed very sicke with the laske, the which caused him still continually from time to time to go to the stoole, all that night; in somuch that from the time that it tooke him, until the next morning he had fifty stooles, so that he was that day very weake. His matter that he voided was wondrous blacke, the which the physition called coller adustine; and when he perceived it, he saide to me, that if he had not some helpe shortly he shall die. With that I caused one doctor Nicholas a doctor of phisicke, being with my lord of Shrewesbury, to looke upon the grosse matter that he avoided; upon sight whereof he determined he should not live four or five daies; yet notwithstanding he would have ridden with Mr. Kingstone that same daie, if my lord of Shrewesbury had not beene. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity they caused him to tarry all that day.

And the next day he tooke his journey, with Mr. Kingstone and them of the guarde. And as sone as they espied him, considering that he was their olde master, and in such estate, they lamented his misfortune, with weping eyes. Whome my lorde

toke by the hand, and many times, as he rode by the way, he would talke, nowe with one, then with an other, until he came to an house of my lord of Shrewesburys, called Hardwicke Hall [10], where he lay all that nighte very evill at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that nighte, more sicke, and the next day he rode to Leicester abbey; and by the way he waxed so sicke, that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was nighte before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gate the abbot with all his convent met him with diverse torches lighte; whom they right honorably received and welcomed with great reverence. To whome my lord saide [1], "Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," riding so still until he came to the staires of his chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and then master Kingstone tooke him by the arme, and led him up the stairs; who tould me afterwardes, he never felt so heavy a burden in all his life. And as sone as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sicke. This was upon Satterday at nighte [2]; and then continued he, sicker and sicker.

Upon Monday in the morning, as I stoode by his bed side, about eighte of the clocke, the windowes being close shut, and

[10] *Hardwicke Hall.*] Not Hardwicke Hall, in Derbyshire, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, which then belonged to a family of the name of Hardwicke, but Hardwicke-upon-Line, about four miles from Newstead, in Nottinghamshire. See Hunter's "*Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*"

[1] *My lord saide.*]

> "O, father abbot,
> An old man, broken with the storms of state,
> Is come to lay his weary bones among ye;
> Give him a little earth for charity!"
>
> *Henry VIII.* act iv. sc. ii.

[2] *Satterday at nighte.*] 26th November.

having waxe lightes, burning upon the cupborde, I beheld him, as me seemed, drawing faste towardes deathe. He perceiving my shadowe upon the wall by the bed side, asked who was there? "Sir," quoth I, "I am here." "How doe you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, Sir," quoth I, "if I mighte see your grace well." "What is it of the clocke?" saide he to me. "Sir," said I, "it is past eight in the morning." "Eight of the clocke?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing diverse times, "eighte of the clocke," "eighte of the clocke," "nay, nay," quoth he at last, "it cannot be eighte of the clocke: for by eighte of the clocke shall you lose your master: for my time draweth neare, that I must departe this world." With that one doctor Palmes[3], a worshipful gentleman, being his chapleine and ghostly father, standing by, bad me secretly demand of him if he would be shriven, and so be in a readiness towardes God, whatsoever should chaunce. At whose desire I asked him that question, "What have ye to doe to aske me any suche question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; untill at the laste master Doctor tooke my parte, and talked with him in Lattine, and so pacified him.

At afternoone master Kingstone sent for me into his chamber, and at my comming there saide to me, "So it is, that the king hath sent me letters by master Vincent[4], one of your old companions, who hath bin in trouble in the towre for money that my lord should have at his last departing from him, which cannot nowe be found. Wherefore the king, at this Vincents request, for the declaration of his truthe, hath sent him hither with his

[3] *Palmes.*] John Palmes? Dean of Alton, of which he was afterwards deprived when blind. See Cotton MS. Titus, B. i. fol. 75.

[4] *Vincent.*] David Vincent, see p. 278.

grace's letters, that I should examine my lord in that behalfe, and to have your counsell herein, to the intente my lorde may take it well and in good parte. This is the cause of my sending for you; therefore I pray you of your counsell, what way is beste to be taken therein, for the true acquittall of this pore gentleman, master Vincent." "Sir," quoth I, "as touching that matter, after mine advice, ye shall in your owne person resorte unto him to visite him, and in communication breake the matter unto him. And if he will not tell the truthe, there be that can satisfy the kings minde therein. But in any wise, mention not, nor speake of my fellowe Vincent. And also I would advise you not to tracte the time with him; for he is very sicke, and I feare me he will not live past a day." Then went master Kingstone to visit him; and asked him first howe he did, and so forthe proceeded in conversation, wherein master Kingstone demaunded of him of the sayd money saying, "that my lord of Northumberlande hath founde a booke at Cawood that reporteth that you had but late fifteen hundred poundes; and it will not be founde, not so much as one penny thereof: who hath made the king privy of the same. Wherefore the king hath written unto me, to demaund of you where it is become; for it were pitty that it should be imbeseled from you bothe. Therefore I shall require you, in the kings name, to tell me the truthe; to the intent that I may make just reporte unto his majestie of your aunswer therein." With that my lorde paused a little and saide, "Oh good Lorde! how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me any such deceite, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. Rather than I would, master Kingstone, imbeazle, or deceive him of one penny, I would it were moulten, and put into my mouthe;" which wordes he spake twise

or thrice very vehemently. "I have nothing, ne never had (God be my judge), that I esteemed so much my owne, but that I tooke it ever to be the kings goods, having but the bare use thereof during my life; and after my death to leave it wholly to him; where he hath but prevented my intent and purpose. And for this money that ye demaund of me, I assure you that it is none of mine; for I borrowed it of diverse of my friends to burye me, and to bestowe among my servantes, who have taken great paines about me, like true and faithful servantes. Notwithstanding if it be his pleasure to have this money from me, I must hold me contente. Yet I would most humbly beseeche his majestie, to see that satisfied, for the discharge of my conscience unto them that I owe it." "Who be they," quoth Mr. Kingstone. "That shall I shewe you," saide my lorde. "I borowed two hundred poundes thereof of sir John Allen[5] of London; and an other two hundred poundes of sir Richard Gresham[6] of London; also other two hundred poundes of the master of the Savoie, also two hundred poundes of doctor Hickden[7], deane of my colledge in Oxenforde; and two hundred poundes of the treasurer of the churche of Yorke; and also two hundred poundes of parson Ellis my chaplen; and another one hundred poundes of a priest, that was then his stewarde, whose name I have forgotten; to whome I trust the king will restore the same againe, for as much as it is none of mine." "Sir," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "there is no doubte in the king; whom ye need not

[5] *Sir John Allen.*] Sir John Allen was lord mayor of London in 1535.

[6] *Sir Richard Gresham.*] On the Good Friday next following, Sir Richard Gresham wrote to Cromwell, to move the king for the payment of a debt due to him from the estate of the late lord cardinal. III. Ellis, ii. 204. In 1537 he was lord mayor of London. He was father of Sir Thomas Gresham.

[7] *Doctor Hickden.*] John Hygden, see note [6], p. 229.

to mistrust in that, but when the king shall be advertised hereof, as I shall reporte, at my retourne, of your earnest request therein, his grace will doe as shall become him. But sir, I pray you, where is this money?" "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I will not conceale it from the king; but will declare it unto you, or I dye, by the grace of God. Take a little patience with me I beseeche you." "Well sir, then will I trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will tell me to morrowe." "Yea, that I will, Mr. Kingstone, for the money is safe enoughe, and in an honest man's keeping; who will not kepe one penny thereof from the king." And then the abbot of Leicester sent for Mr. Kingstone to supper; who then departed for that nighte.

Howbeyt my lord waxed very sicke, most likely to die that nighte, and often swooned, and as me thought drewe on faste to his ende, until it was foure of the clocke of the morning: at which time I spake to him, and asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meate; I pray you give me some." "Sir, there is none redy," saide I. "I wis," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame: for you should have alwaies meate for me in a readiness, to eate when my stomache serveth me; therefore I pray you get me some; for I intend this day to make me strong, to the intent that I may occupy myselfe in confession, and make me ready to God." "Then sir," quoth I, "I will call up the cookes to provide some meate for you; and will also, if it be your pleasure, call for Mr. Palmes, that ye may common with him, untill your meate be ready." "With a good will," quoth he. And therewith I went fast, and called up the cookes, bidding them to prepare some meate for my lorde. Then went I to Mr. Palmes, and tould him what case my lorde was in; willing him to rise, and resorte to him with spede. And then I went to Mr. King-

stone, and gave him warning, that, as I thought, my lord would not live; advising him that if he had any thing to say to him, he should make haste, for he was in great daunger. "In good faith," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "ye be to blame: for ye make him believe that he is sicker and in more daunger, than he is indeed." "Well sir," quoth I, "ye shall not say another day but I have given you warning, as I am bound to doe, and discharge myself therein. Therefore I pray you, whatsoever shall chaunce, let no negligence be ascribed to me herein; for I assure you his life is very shorte. Do therefore as ye thinke beste." Yet nevertheless he rose, and made him ready, and came to him. After he had eaten of a cullace[8] made of chicken a spoonfull or two, at the laste quoth he, "Whereof was this cullace made?" "Forsothe sir," quoth I, "of a chicken." "Why," quoth he, "it is fasting day," (being St. Andrews even.) "What though it be," quoth Dr. Palmes, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness?" "Yea," quoth he, "what though? I will eate no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an houre. And when he had ended his confession, master Kingstone came to him, and bad him good morrowe; for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poore soule into his handes." "Not so sir," quoth master Kingstone, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheere." "Nay in good soothe, master Kingstone, my disease is suche that I cannot live; for I have had some experience in phisicke. Thus it is: I have a fluxe with a continuall feaver; the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must ensue excorrition of the entrailes, or frensy, or else

[8] *Cullace.*] A strong broth or gravy; from the *French,* coulis.

present deathe; and the best of these three, is deathe. And as I suppose, this is the eight day: and if ye see no alteration in me, there is no remedy, save that I may live a day or two after, but deathe which is the beste of these three, must followe." "Sir," saide master Kingstone, "you be in such pensiveness, doubting that thing that in good faithe ye need not." "Well, well, master Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I see the matter maketh you much worse than you should be against me; howe it is framed I knowe not. But if I had served God, as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey heares[9]. But this is the just rewarde that I must receive, for my diligent paines and study, that I have had, to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfye his pleasure. I pray you have me most humbly commended unto his royall majestie; and beseech him in my behalfe, to call to his princely remembrance all matters proceeding betweene him and me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same; and most especially in his waighty matter;" (meaning the matter betweene good queen Katherine and him,) "and then shall his graces conscience knowe, whether I have offended him, or no. He is a prince of royall courage, and hath a princely harte; and rather then he will miss or want any parte of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the losse of the one halfe of his realme. For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three houres, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could

[9] *In my grey heares.*]

"Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies."

Henry VIII. act iv. sc. i.

never dissuade him therefrom. Therefore Mr. Kingstone, I warne you, if it chaunce you hereafter to be of his privy counsell, as for your wisdome ye are very mete, be well assured and advised, what ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out againe.

"And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, on God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depresse this newe sorte of Lutherans[1], that it doe not encrease, through his negligence, in suche a sorte, as he be at length compelled to put on harnies upon his backe to subdue them; as the king of Boheme did, who had good game, to see his commons, infected with Wickliffes heresies, to spoile the spirituall men of his realme; who at the last were constrained to call to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no helpe ne refuge, but they laughed and had good game, not regarding their duty. But when these erroneous heretics had subdued all the clerge, bothe churches, and monasteries, and all other spirituall things, then having nothing more to spoile, they caught such a courage of their former spoile, that then they disdained their prince with his nobles, and the heades and governours of the country, and began to spoile and slay them. Insomuch as the king and other noblemen were constrained to put harnies upon

[1] *Newe sorte of Lutherans.*] In the year 1521, the cardinal, by virtue of his legatine authority, issued a mandate to all the bishops in the realm, to take the necessary means for calling in and destroying all books, printed or written, containing any of the errors of Martin Luther: and further directing processes to be instituted against all the possessors and favourers of such books, heresies, &c. The mandate contained also a list of forty-two errors of Luther. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 690—693; and Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 36—40. For further proceedings of the same description in 1526, and again in 1529, see Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. i. p. 165.

them, to resist the power of those traiterous heretickes, and to defend their lives; who pitched a field against them; in which field the conflict was so vehement and cruell on the rebells parte, that in fine they slewe the kinge, the nobles, and all the gentlemen of the realme, leaving not one person that bare the name of a nobleman or gentleman, or any person that bare rule in the common wealthe alive; by meanes of which slaughter they have lived ever since without an heade; being brought into such poverty and misery that they be abhorred of all Christian nations. Let this be to him an example to avoide the like daunger, I pray you. There is no trust to routes or to unlawfull assemblies in the common people; for when they be up, there is no mercy with them. Let him consider the story of king Richard the second, one of his progenitors, who lived in that same time also of Wickliffe's seditions and erroneous opinions. Did not the commons, I pray you, in his time arise against the nobles and head governors of this realme of Englande; whereof some they apprehended, whom without mercy or misery they put to deathe? and did they not fall to spoiling and robbery, which was their onlie pretence to have all things in common; and at the last, tooke the kings person perforce out of the tower of London, and carried him about the city presumptuously, making him obedient to their lewd proclamations? Did not also the traiterous hereticke, Sir John Oldcastle, lord of Cobham, pitche a field with hereticks against king Henry the fifth, where the king himselfe was personally, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory? Alas! if these be not plaine presidents, and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince to be circumspect against the semblable mischiefe, then will God strike, and take from us our prudent rulers, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and then shall ensue

mischiefe upon mischiefe, inconvenience upon inconvenience, and barrenness and scarcity for lacke of good order in the common weale, to the utter ruine and desolation of this realme, from the which God of his tendre mercy defend us!

"Master Kingstone farewell! I can no more saye, but I wish, ere I dye, all things to have good successe. My time draweth on faste. I may not tarry with you. And forget not what I have saide and charged you withall; for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remembre my words better." And even with those wordes he began to draw his speche at lengthe, and his tongue to faile; his eyes being presently set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then began we to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion; and caused the yeomen of the guarde to stand bye secretly, to see him dye, and to be witnesses of his wordes at his departure; who heard all his saide communication: and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then gave he up the ghost, and thus he departed this present life [2]. And calling to remembrance, howe he saide the day before, that at eight of the clocke we should lose our master, as it is before rehearsed, one of us looking upon another, supposing that either he knewe or prophesied of his departure, yet before his departure, we sent for the abbot of the house, to annoyle him [3], whoe made all the spede he could, and came to his departure, and so sayd certaine praiers, before the breath was fully out of his body.

[2] *He departed this present life.*] Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1530. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 310.

[3] *To annoyle him.*] To administer the *extreme unction.* "The *fyfth sacrament* is *anoyntynge* of seke men, the whiche *oyle* is halowed of the bysshop, and mynystred by preestes to them that ben of lawfull age, in grete peryll of dethe: in lyghtnes and abatynge of theyr sikenes, yf God wyll that they

Here is the ende and fall of pride and arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignities: for I assure you, in his time, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive; having more respect to the honor of his person than he had to his spirituall profession; wherein should be shewed all meekness, humility, and charity; the discussing whereof any further I leave to divines.

After that he was thus departed, Mr. Kingstone sent a post to the king, advertising him of the departure of the cardinall by one of the guarde, that sawe and hearde him die. And then Mr. Kingstone and the abbot calling me unto them went to consultation of the order of his buriall.

After diverse opinions, it was thought good that he should be buried the next day following; for Mr. Kingstone would not tarry the returne of the poste. And it was further thought good that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, to avoide false rumours that might happen, to say that he was still alive. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for; and in the meane time, the body was taken out of the bed where he lay deade; who had upon him, next his body, a shirte of heare, besides his other shirte, which was of very fine holland; which was not known to any of his servaunts being continually about him in his chambre, saving to his ghostly father; which shirtes were laide in a coffin made for him of bordes, having upon his dead corpse all such ornaments as he was professed in, when he was made bishop and archbishop, as miter, crosse, ring, and palle, with all other things due to his order and dignity. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and barefaced,

lyve; and in forgyvynge of theyr venyal synnes, and releasynge of theyr payne, yf they shal deye."—*Festival*, fol. 171.

every man that would might see him there deade without fayning, even as the mayor, his brethren, and other did.

Lying thus untill foure or five of the clocke at nighte, he was carried downe into the churche with great solemnity by the abbot, and conducted with much torche lighte, and service songe, due for such funeralls. And being in the churche the corpse was set in our Lady Chappell, with diverse tapers of waxe, and diverse poore men sitting about the same, holding torches in their handes, who watched about the corps all night, while the canons sang *Dirige*[4], and other devout oraisons. And about foure of the clocke in the morning Mr. Kingstone and we his servants came into the churche, and there tarried the executing of diverse ceremonies in such cases used, about the corpse of a bishop. Then went they to masse, at which masse the abbot and diverse other did offer.

[4] *Dirige.*] The office of the dead: to which various names are given in the old books; sometimes the *Dirige,* from the antiphon *Dirige gressus meos:* sometimes the *Placebo,* also from its first antiphon; sometimes the *Vigiliæ Mortuorum,* or *Officium pro defunctis:* sometimes the *Placebo and Dirge:* sometimes the *Dirge* only. "The makyng of this service (that we call Dirige) some do ascribe to Saynt Isidore, and some to Saynt Gregorie: but whether of them it was, forceth not moche, for certayn it is, that all that is contained therein (the collectes excepte) may as well be applyed for the lyvyng as for the deade. Yet (as Platina wryteth) Pelagius byshop of Rome dyd fyrste ordeyne the commemoration, or prayenge for the deade. Whiche thinge (aftir the mynde of Isidore) was received as a tradition of the Apostles. Howe be it S. Ambrose affirmeth, that it was derived of an olde custome had amonge the Hebrewes, whiche used longe lamentation for the deade after theyr departyng, as they dyd for Jacob the space of xl dayes, and for Moyses xxx. But we that are under the newe lawe are taught of God by the mouthe of Saynte Paule his apostle, not to mourne or be sorye for them that be departed, in the faythe of Christe, but to rejoyse, as in them that reste in the sleepe of peace, (for so is it dayly remembered in the masse) untill they shall be called unto the laste judgement." *Preface to the "Prymer,"* Nic. le Roux, 1538. Maskell, ii. 114.

And that done, they went about to bury the corps in the middest of the sayd chappell, where was made for him a grave. And by that time he was buried, and all ceremonies ended, it was six of the clocke in the morning.

Then went we and prepared ourselves to horseback, being Saint Andrews day the apostle, and so toke our journey to the courte; riding that same day, being Wednesday, to Northampton; and the next day to Dunstable; and the next day to London; where we tarried untill saint Nicholas even, and then we rode to Hampton courte, where the king and counsel lay, giving all our attendance upon them for our dispatche.

And the next day, being Saint Nicholas day, I was sent for, being in Mr. Kingstone's chamber there in the courte, to come to the king; whom I found shooting at the roundes in the parcke, on the backside of the garden. And perceiving him occupied in shoting, thought it not good to trouble him; but leaning to a tree, attending there until he had made an ende of his disporte. And leaning there, being in a great study, what the matter should be that his grace should send for me, at the laste the king came sodenly behind me, and clapped me upon the shoulder; and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. And he, calling me by name, sayd unto me, "I will," quoth he, "make an ende of my game, and then will I talk with you:" and so departed to the marke where he had shot his arrowe. And when he came there they were meeting of the shott that lay upon the game, which was ended that shote.

Then delivered the king his bowe unto the yeoman of his bowes, and went his waies inwarde; whom I followed; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage, then his vice chamberlaine, with whome he talked, untill he came to the posterne gate of his

garden; the which being open against his comying, he entered; and then was the gate shute after him, which caused me to goe my waies.

And ere ever I was past halfe a paire of butt lengths, the gate opened againe, and Mr. Norris called me againe, commanding me to come unto the kinge, who stoode behinde the doore in a night gowne of russet velvet, furred with sables; before whome I kneled downe, being there with him all alone the space of an houre or more, during which season he examined me of diverse weighty matters, concerning my lord cardinall, wishing rather than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. He examined me of the fifteen hundred poundes, which Mr. Kingstone moved to my lord before his deathe, as I have before rehersed. "Sir," sayd I, "I thinke that I can tell your Grace partly where it is, and who hathe it." "Yea, can you?" quoth the king; "then I pray you tell me, and you shall doe much pleasure, and it shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," sayd I, "if it please your highness, after the departure of David Vincent from my lord at Scroby, who had the custody thereof, leaving the same with my lord in diverse baggs, he delivered the same unto a certaine priest safely to kepe to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea, sir," quoth I, "without all doubt. The priest shall not be able to deny it in my presence, for I was at the delivery thereof; who hath gotten diverse other rich ornaments into his hands, the which be not rehersed or registered in any of my lords books of inventory, or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but only I." "Well then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and kepe this geare secrete betweene yourselfe and me, and let no man knowe thereof; for if I heare any more of it, then I knowe by whom it came out. Howbeit,"

quoth he, "three may kepe counsell, if two be awaye; and if I knewe that my cap were privy of my counsell, I would cast it in the fire and burne it. And for your truthe and honesty ye shall be our servant, and be in the same rome with us, wherein you were with your old master. Therefore goe your waies unto Sir John Gage our vice chamberlain, to whom I have spoken already to give you your oathe, and to admit you our servaunt in the sayd roome; and then goe to my lord of Norfolke, and he shall pay you your whole yeares wages, which is ten poundes, is it not so?" quoth the king. "Yea, forsoothe," quoth I, "and I am behinde for three quarters of a yeare of the same wages." "That is true," quoth the king, "therefore ye shall have your whole yeares wages, with our rewarde delivered you by the duke of Norfolke;" promising me furthermore, to be my singular good lord, whensoever occasion should serve. And thus I departed from the kinge.

And as I went to Mr. Gage to receive mine othe, I happened to meete with Mr. Kingstone comming from the counsell, who commaunded me in their name to goe straighte unto them, for by him they had sent for me, "And in any wise take good hede," quoth he, "what ye say: for ye shall be examined of certaine wordes spoken by my lord your master at his departure, the which I knowe well enoughe; and if I tell them the truthe," quoth he, "what he said, I shall undoe myselfe; for in any wise they may not heare of it: therefore be circumspect what aunswer ye make to their demaundes." "Why," quoth I, "how have you done therein yourselfe?" "Mary," quoth he, "I have utterly denied that I heard any such wordes; and he that opened the same first is fled for feare;" which was the yeomen of the guarde that rode in post to the king from Leycester. "Therefore goe your waies,"

quoth he, "God send you good spede; and when you have done, come to me into the chamber of presence, where I will tarry to see howe you speede, and to knowe how ye have done with the king."

Thus I departed and went directly to the counsell chamber doore; and as sone as I was come I was called in amongst them. And being there, my lord of Norfolke first spake, and bad me welcome to the courte, and saide, "My lordes, this gentleman hath served the cardinall his master like an honest man; therefore I doubt not but of such questions as ye shall demaund of him, he will make a just and a true aunswer, I dare be his surety. Howe say you sir?" quoth he to me, "it is reported, that your master spake such wordes and such even at his departure from his life; the truthe whereof I doubt not but you knowe; and as you knowe, I pray you reporte; and feare for no man. It shall not neede to sweare you, therefore go to, how say you, is this true that is reported?" "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "I was so diligent about him, attending the preservation of his life, that I marked not every worde that he spake; and as for my parte, I have heard him talke many idle wordes, as men do in such extremities, the which I do not nowe remember. If it please you to call Mr. Kingstone before your lordshippes, he will not let to tell you the truthe." "Mary so have we done already," quoth they, "who hath bin here before us, and hath denied that ever your master spake any such wordes, at the time of his deathe, or at any time before." "Forsoothe my lordes," quoth I, "then I can say no more; for if he heard them not, I could not heare them: for he heard as much as I, and I as much as he. Therefore my lordes, it were folly to say a thing of untruthe, which I am not able to justify." "Loe!" quoth my lord of Norfolke.

"I tould you before, that he was a true man, and would tell the truthe. Goe your waies: ye be discharged," quoth he, "and come to my chambre sone, for I must talke with you."

I most humbly thanked them, and so departed; and went into the chamber of presence to mete with Mr. Kingstone, whom I found standing in communication with an auncient gentleman, one Mr. Radcliffe, gentleman usher of the kings privy chamber. And at my comming, Mr. Kingstone demaunded of me, if I had bin with the counsell; and what aunswer I made them. I aunswered, that I had satisfied their lordshippes mindes with mine aunswers; and tould him even as I have rehersed before. And then he asked me, how I sped with the king; and I tould him all our communications; and of his Graces benevolence and princely liberality towards me; and howe he commaunded me to goe to my lord of Norfolke. And even as we were speaking of my lord of Norfolke, he came out from the counsell chamber, into the chamber of presence; and as sone as he espied me, he came unto the windowe, where I stoode with Mr. Kingstone and Mr. Radcliffe; to whome I declared the kings pleasure. And then these two gentlemen made intercession unto him to be good lord unto me. "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "I will be better to him than he weneth; for if I could have spoken to him, or ever he came to the king, I would have had him to my service; and (the king excepted) he should have done no man service in all Englande but me. And loke," quoth he, "what I may doe for you, I will doe it with all my harte." "Sir then my desire is, that it would please your grace," quoth I, "to move the kinge to be so much good lord as to give me one of the cartes and horses that brought up my stuffe with my lordes, (which is nowe in the Towre) to carry it home

into my country." "Yea mary will I," quoth he and retourned into the kinge; for whom I tarried still with Mr. Kingstone. "And," quoth Mr. Ratcliffe, "I will goe in, and helpe my lord of Norfolke in your suite to the king." And incontinent my lord came forthe, and tould me, that the king was my singular good and gracious lord; and had given me six of the beste horses I could chose among all my lordes carte horses, and a carte to carry my stuffe, and five markes for the costes homewardes; and hath commanded me," quoth he, "to deliver you ten poundes for your wages, being behinde; and twenty poundes for a rewarde;" and commaunded me to call Mr. Secretary unto him, to make a warrant for all these things. Then was it tould him, that Mr. Secretary was gone to Hamworthe for that nighte. Then commaunded he one of the messengers of the chambre to ride to him in all haste for those warrants; and also willed me to mete with him the next day at London; and there I should receive both my money and my stuffe, with the horses and carte, that the king promised me: and so I did; of whom I received all those things, and then I retourned home into the country with the same. And thus ended[5] the life of the right triumphant cardinall of England, on whose soule Jesus have mercy! Amen.

[5] *And thus ended.*] I subjoin the cardinal's character, as given by Lord Herbert, in his *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.* p. 342.

"And thus concluded that great cardinal: a man in whom ability of parts and industry were equally eminent; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous instruments of power, in active and mutable times. By these arts yet he found means to govern not onely the chief affairs of this kingdom, but of Europe; there being no potentate, which, in his turn, did not seek to him: And as this procured him divers pensions, so, when he acquainted the king therewith, his manner was so cunningly to disoblige that prince who did fee him last, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other side. But not of secular princes alone, but

Who liste to reade and consider with a cleare eye this history, may behold the mutability of vaine honors, and brittle assurance

even of the pope and clergy of Rome, he was no little courted; of which therefore he made especial use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for which reason also his chief endeavour was not to displease any great person; which yet could not secure him. For as all things passed through his hands, so they who failed in their suits generally hated him: all which, though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good resultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be just; whereof also he obtained the reputation in his publick hearing of causes: for as he loved no body, so his reason carried him. And thus he was an useful minister of his king, in all points, where there was no question of deserting the Roman church; of which (at what price soever) I finde he was a zealous servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seemed more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his inclinations; that prince, who was ablest to help him to this dignity, being ever preferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary baite, by which the emperour and the French king, one after the other did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this kingdome, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few cardinals at his devotion; by whose help, though he could not attain that supreme dignity he so passionately desired, yet he prevailed himself so much of their favour, as he got a kinde of absolute power in spiritual matters at Rome: wherewith again he so served the king's turn, as it made him think the less of using his own authority. One error seemed common to both, which was, that such a multiplicity of offices and places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the regal authority, while one man alone seemed to exhaust all: since it becometh princes to do like good husbandmen, when they sow their grounds; which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great dissembler for so qualified a person; as ordering his businesses (for the most part) so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his learning (which was far from exact), it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the king and himself did more often weary than satisfie each other. His stile, in missives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore observes) that no

of aboundaunce; the uncertainety of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the fickle favor of worldly princes. Whereof this lord cardinall hath felt and tasted bothe of the sweete and soure in each degree; as fleeting from honnors, losing of riches, deposed from dignities, forsaken of friends, and the mutability of princes favor; of all which things, he had in this world the full felicity, as long as fortune smiled upon him: but when she began to frowne, how sone was he deprived of all these mundane joyes, and vaine pleasures! That which in twenty yeares with

man ever did rise with fewer virtues, it is true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him: though yet Polydore (for being at his first coming into England committed to prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, if either his pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the king, or that other than women had opposed him: who, as they are vigilant and close enemies, so for the most part they carry their businesses in that manner, as they leave fewer advantages against themselves than men do. In conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the people a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things succeeded better than afterwards: though yet it may be doubted whether the impressions he gave did not occasion divers irregularities which were observed to follow. He died Nov. 29, 1529."

We may add here a few additional particulars from Lloyd's *State Worthies.*

"He had petty projects; namely, that children should follow their fathers' profession, saying that he observed, that the father's eminency in any act begat in the child a propension to the same; and where two or three successive generations happily insist in the steps one of another, they raise an art to great perfection. He also liked well the prudence of our parliaments, in permitting the eldest sons of barons to be present at their consultations, to fit them by degrees for the person they are to sustain." P. 14, edit. 1670.

"One thing he advised young men to take care of in their public deliveries; namely, that they should rather proceed, though more inaccurately, than stop sensibly: few being able to discern the failure of a continued speech, when all understand the mischance of a gross silence." P. 22.

great travaile and study he obtained, was in one yeare and lesse, with great care and sorrowe lost and consumed.—O, madness! O, fond desire! O, foolish hope! O, greedy desire of vaine honnors, dignities, and riches! Oh what unconstant hope and trust is it in the false fayned countenaunce and promise of fortune! Wherefore the prophet saith full well, *Thesaurizat, et ignorat cui congregabit ea.* Who is certaine that he shall leave his riches which he hath gathered in this world, unto them whom he hath purposed? The wise man saith, *That an other, whom peradventure he hated in his life, shall spende it out, and consume it.*

THE END

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